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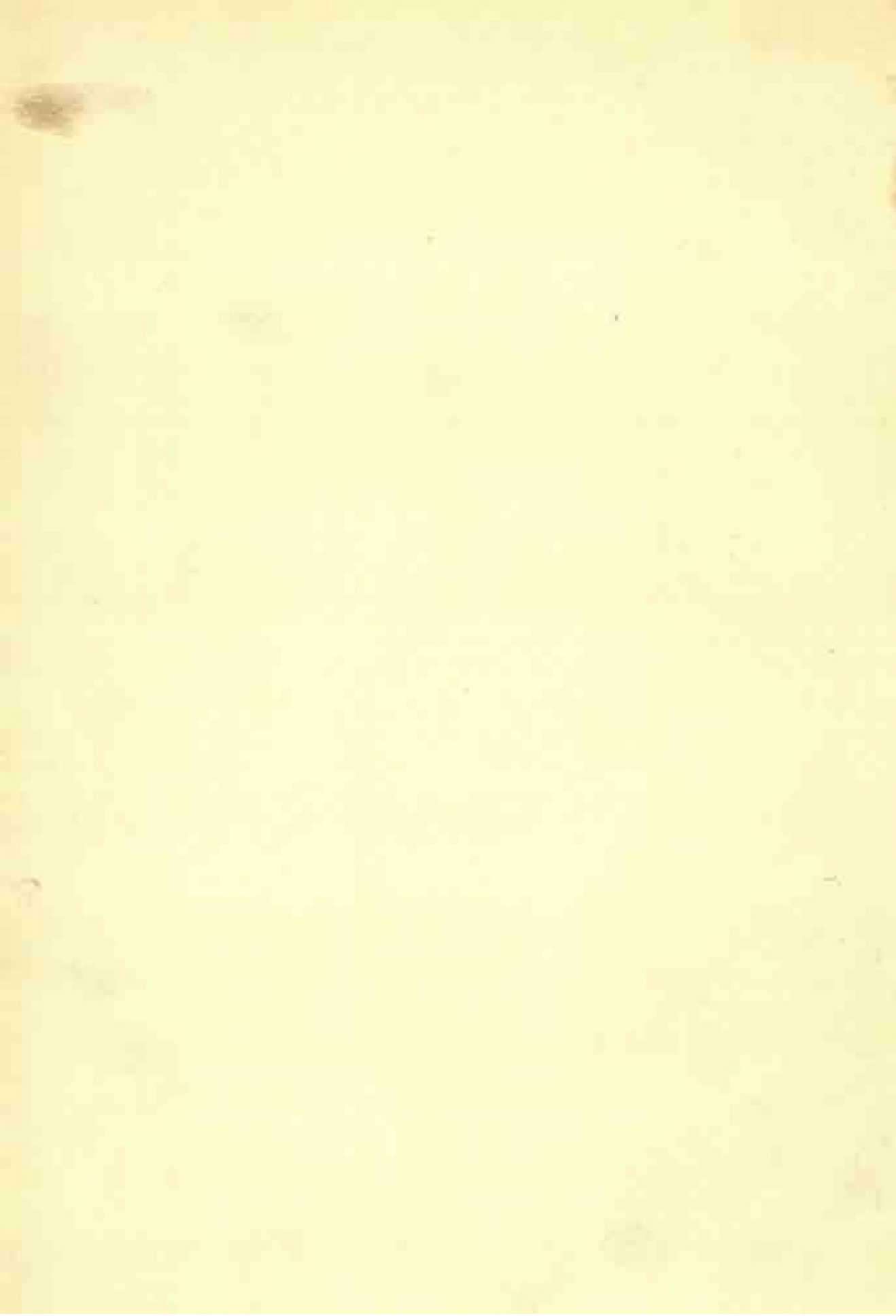






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*\*λυξ, ρόμβος, rhombus, turbo*

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 Ridge, A. H., *Jesus College, Cambridge* (26, *Edenhurst Avenue, S.W.* 6).  
 Roff, H. E., *Magdalene College, Cambridge* (41, *Cavendish Road, S.W.* 12).  
 Shutt, R. J. H., *St. Chad's College, Durham*.  
 Simms, M. J. G., *New College, Oxford* (86, *Gloucester Place, W.* 1).  
 Smith, R. E., *Emmanuel College, Cambridge* (*Market Bosworth, Nuneaton*).  
 Taber, Miss A. L., *King's College, Strand, W.C.* (4, *Woodland Way, Shirley, Croydon*).  
 Taylor, Miss R. M., *Westfield College, Hampstead, N.W.* 3.  
 Temperley, Miss B., *Bowden House, Harrow, Middlesex*.  
 Thomson, W. P. G., *Trinity College, Glenalmond, Perthshire*.  
 Treud, B., *Merion College, Oxford* (29, *Scarbrook Road, Croydon, Surrey*).  
 Warrick, P. P., *Brasenose College, Oxford* (1, *The Orchard, Blackheath, S.E.* 3).  
 Welsdon, Miss E. L. O., *Westfield College, N.W.* 3 (50, *Alderney Street, S.W.* 1).  
 Whyte, C. E. A., *Peterhouse, Cambridge* (54, *East Sheen Avenue, East Sheen, S.W.* 14).  
 Williams, A. E., *Fitzwilliam House, Cambridge* (*Willowdene, Eversley Road, Surbiton, Surrey*).  
 Williams, H. R. Hudson, *King's College, Cambridge* (*Coaldaragh, Bangor, Cambridgeshire*).  
 Wootton, R. W., *Corpus Christi College, Oxford* (*Brampton, Manor Road, Ashford, Middlesex*).  
 Woolley, A. D., *Queen's College, Oxford* (65, *Branksome Wood Road, Bournemouth*).  
 Wormald, F. L., *Corpus Christi, Oxford* (32, *Leinster Square, W.* 2).  
 Young, W. R. A., *Queen's College, Oxford* (57, *Harley Street, W.* 1).

#### SUBSCRIBING LIBRARIES.

Enrolled during the year 1934 only.

- BRIGHTON, The Public Library, Brighton.  
 CHESTER, PA., Bucknell Library, Chester, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.  
 LONDON, Library of Birkbeck College, University of London, E.C. 4.  
 " The Library, East London College, Mile End Road, E. 1.  
 NEBRASKA, The Library of the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska, U.S.A.  
 NOTTINGHAM, Library of University College, Nottingham.  
 RENNES, La Bibliothèque de l'Université de Rennes, France.



## MEETINGS

## OF THE SESSION 1933-34

1 The inaugural Meeting of the Session took place on November 7th, 1933, when Dr. J. T. Sheppard presented a communication entitled 'Zeus-loved Achilles.' This paper will appear later in the Society's *Journal*.

2 On January 24th, 1934, a special Meeting was held, the subject of which was the Codex Sinaiticus.

This meeting was, by the kind permission of the Managers, held in the theatre of the Royal Institution, which was completely filled by members of the Society and of the Institution. The President having taken the chair, Sir Frederic Kenyon delivered the main address. He was followed by Sir George Hill and Dr. H. I. Bell. The meeting terminated with an expression of thanks from the Society to the Institution for the hospitality kindly given.

3 The second General Meeting, held on February 6th, was devoted to a communication on 'Greek and Modern Music' by Mr. E. Clements, late I.C.S. The chair was taken by Sir Henry Hadow, and the Society had the pleasure of welcoming a number of distinguished musicians and critics, among whom were Mr. M. D. Calvocoressi, Mr. A. H. Fox Strangways, the Rev. Dom Anselm Hughes, O.S.B., Mr. E. Stanley Roper, Miss K. Schlesinger and Professor H. J. W. Tillyard. Sir Walford Davies, Mr. John Compton and Sir Henry Wood were unavoidably prevented from attending. Musical illustrations were given on a model organ, designed by the speaker, and the 'Invocation to Kalliope,' the 'Hymn to Nemesis' and the 'Epitaph to Seikilos,' and also some plain-song hymns in the four harmonies, were sung by Mr. James Coombs. Sir Henry Hadow, Mr. Fox Strangways, Miss Schlesinger and others took part in the subsequent discussion. Mr. Clements was accorded a hearty vote of thanks for his paper and appreciation was expressed of Mr. Coombs' rendering of the musical illustrations.

4 The third General Meeting was held on May 1st, when Mr. C. M. Bowra read a paper on 'Simonides, Themistocles and Timocreon.' Mr. Bowra's paper, it is understood, forms part of an historical work shortly to be published.

5 The Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, June 26th, 1934, the President, Professor R. M. Dawkins, occupying the chair. The results of the elections and re-elections of officers and members of the Council, together with text of a letter to Mr. George Macmillan (read by the President), and the obituary notices of honorary members who had died dur-

ing the year, have already been printed and circulated in the Annual Report of the Council.

Having dealt with these matters in his opening speech, the President moved the adoption of the Report, which was seconded by H.E. the Greek Minister and carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to Mr. C. F. Clay, the auditor, moved by the President and seconded by Mr. Purdon, was carried unanimously.

Mr. E. J. Forsdyke then gave particulars of the recent discovery of the Doric temple of Hera Argela, near Paestum, which had been communicated by Signor Zanotti-Bianco at the suggestion of Mrs. Arthur Strong. The temple is situated, as stated by Strabo, near the ancient mouth of the river Silarus, about 8 kilometres from Paestum. A Doric column and nearly two thousand terracotta statuettes were among the first discoveries. The column is almost identical in design with the columns of the temple of Ceres at Paestum. Much older is a relief in good preservation, thought to be a metope, of which a slide was shown. It represents a bearded nude figure bearing away a draped woman, and may be late seventh century. The excavation was being conducted under exceptional difficulties in a marshy malarial district. Mr. Forsdyke expressed the thanks of the Society to Signor Zanotti-Bianco and Signora Zancani-Montuoro for this interesting communication, and to Mrs. Strong for her help in procuring it.

Professor Dawkins then delivered his annual presidential address. He took as his subject the recent researches conducted by Dr. Gerhard Rohlfs on the Greek dialects now spoken in Southern Italy. The substance of this address appears in the present volume in the form of a review of Dr. Rohlfs' most recent book on this subject, his *Scavi linguistici nella Magna Grecia*. Professor Dawkins concluded with some remarks on the present condition of the language. In 1870 Morosi thought that the Greek of the Terra d'Otranto would be dead in thirty years. Though undoubtedly declining, it has shewn far more resistance than he thought probable, and Professor Dawkins was able to say that he had heard Greek spoken both there and at Bova in 1910, and again during a second visit since the war. He expressed a hope that the numerous collections of dialect folk tales left by the Calimera scholar Vito Palumbo, and now in the possession of his family, would be published.

M. Jean Malye, Délégué général de l'Association Guillaume Budé, moved a vote of thanks to the President for his address.

## BALANCE SHEET. DECEMBER 31, 1933.

<i>Liabilities.</i>		<i>Assets.</i>	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Debts Payable .....	2163 11 8	By Cash in Hand—Bank .....	
" Subscriptions paid in advance .....	74 0 6	Assistant Treasurer .....	3 9 0½
" Endowment Fund .....	1399 12 0	Petty Cash .....	101 3 6
(includes legacy of £200 from the late Canon Adam Farrar and £200 from the late Rev. H. F. Torer)		Debits Receivable .....	104 12 7
" Life Compositions and Donations—		" Investments .....	146 3 9½
Total at Jan. 1, 1933 .....	2314 4 0	" Library Premises Capital Account—	2725 0 0
Received during year .....	78 15 0	Amount spent to date .....	5584 13 19
Less carried to Income and Expenditure	2302 19 0	Less Donations received .....	4699 11 4
Account—Members deceased .....	99 15 0	Transferred to Income and Expenditure	885 2 0
	2293 4 0	Account during past years .....	497 0 0
		Now transferred .....	388 2 6
		Valuation of Stocks of Publications .....	23 0 0
		" Library .....	305 2 0
		" Photographic Department .....	450 0 0
		" Paper in hand for printing Journal .....	1500 0 0
		" Balance, Deficiency at January 1, 1933 .....	200 0 0
		Less Balance from Income and Ex-	24 0 0
		penditure Account .....	641 9 10½
		Balance, Deficiency at December 31, 1933 .....	310 0 7
			325 9 3½
			£5840 8 2

Examined and found correct.

(Signed) C. F. CLAY.

Note :—In the absence of Mr. W. E. F. Macmillan the accounts  
this year have been audited by Mr. Clay alone.



# INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1933, TO DECEMBER 31, 1933.

<i>Expenditure.</i>		<i>Income.</i>	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Salaries.....	648 4 0	By Members' Subscriptions—	
" Insurance .....	32 17 0	Arrears .....	33 1 6
" Miscellaneous Expenses .....	88 17 7½	1933 .....	1135 1 6
" Stationery .....	42 1 4		
" Postage .....	100 2 3½	Members' Entrance Fees .....	1168 1 0
" Sundry Printing, Rules, List of Members, Notices, &c. ....	72 0 1	" Student Associates' Subscriptions .....	50 8 0
" Heating, Lighting, and Cleaning Library Premises, &c. ....	346 4 9	" Libraries' Subscriptions—	85 11 0
" Interest other than on Library Premises ..	24 7 0	Arrears .....	10 10 0
" Grants—		1933 .....	312 13 8
British School at Athens .....	100 0 0		343 5 8
" " Rome .....	10 10 0	Life Compositions brought into Revenue Account .....	90 15 0
" Balance from Library Account .....	110 10 0	" Dividends on Investments .....	117 2 11
" Balance from 'Journal of Hellenic Studies' Account .....	82 2 3	" Contributed by the Society for Promotion of Roman Studies .....	283 0 0
		" Sale of 'Excavations at Physalopei' .....	1 0 0
		" Sale of 'Ante Ombos' .....	2 10 0
		" Sale of 'Artemis Orthia' .....	7 2 8
		" Miscellaneous Receipts .....	5 3 0
		" Donations towards current expenses .....	339 18 0
		" Balance from Lantern Slides and Photo- graphs Account .....	30 9 1
" Balance .....	346 0 7	" Balance from Library Premises Account ...	106 10 3
			<u>£2629 5 1</u>

DR. 'JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES' ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1933, TO DECEMBER 31, 1933. CB.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Printing and Paper, Vol. LIII .....	553	2	6			
" Plates .....	03	3	0			
" Drawing and Engraving .....	97	8	2			
" Editing and Reviews .....	80	15	6			
" Packing, Addressing, and Carriage to Members .....	158	3	7			
	<u>£952 14 9</u>					
By Sales, including back Vols. Per Macmillan & Co., Ltd. ....				128	13	4
" Hellenic Society .....				10	9	6
				<u>139 2 10</u>		
" Receipts from Advertisements .....						
Balance to Income and Expenditure Account ...				775	17	3
				<u>£952 14 9</u>		

LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT, FROM JANUARY 1, 1933, TO DECEMBER 31, 1933.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Slides and Photographs for Sale .....	18	0	2			
" Slides for Hire .....	11	11	0			
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account .....	39	9	1			
	<u>£69 3 9</u>					
By Receipts from Sales and Hire .....				68	3	0
" " Sale of Catalogues, &c. ....				18	0	
				<u>£69 3 9</u>		

LIBRARY ACCOUNT. PURCHASES AND BINDING. FROM JANUARY 1, 1933, TO DECEMBER 31, 1933.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Purchases .....	37	0	11			
" Binding .....	51	8	0			
	<u>£88 8 11</u>					
By Received for Sales of Catalogues, Duplicates, &c. ....				6	6	6
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account .....				82	2	3
				<u>£88 8 11</u>		

LIBRARY PREMISES ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1933.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Rent .....	495	3	0			
Rates .....	115	10	9			
Transferred from Balance Sheet—Proportion of Expenditure for Year .....	23	0	0			
Interest on Debt on Library (£,388) .....	19	8	0			
	<u>563 3 9</u>					
Balance to Income and Expenditure Account .....	106	16	3			
				<u>£670 0 0</u>		
Contributions by the B.S.A. and B.S.R. ....				20	0	0
London Association of Accountants .....				650	0	0
				<u>£670 0 0</u>		

'THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS ORTHIA AT SPARTA.' FROM JANUARY 1, 1933 TO DECEMBER 31, 1933.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance at January 1, 1933 .....	400	13	04			
By Sales, 2 copies .....				7	2	8
" Balance against at December 31, 1933 *				803	10	101
				<u>£900 13 04</u>		

\* Cost less receipts from sales was charged against Income in the Accounts for 1930.



## The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

50, BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1

*President:* HUGH LAST, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.

THE subjects to promote the study of which the Society was formed are the history, archaeology and art of Rome, Italy and the Roman Empire in general down to about 700 A.D. In particular, so far as its resources permit, and so far as is possible without prejudice to the wider objects with which it is concerned, the Society endeavours to encourage the study of Britain under Roman occupation by devoting space in its Journal to articles on Romano-British history and archaeology.

In connexion with the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies the Society maintains a joint library of works on classical antiquity, and a collection of lantern-slides and photographs. Members are entitled to borrow books and slides, and these can be sent to them by post. Communications about books and slides should be addressed to the Librarian at 50 Bedford Square.

Afternoon meetings for the reading and discussion of papers are held at Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.1, and one evening meeting is arranged for the discussion of a subject useful to teachers of Roman history. Notices of these are sent to all members.

The *Journal of Roman Studies*, which is open to the contributions of both British and foreign scholars, is published by the Society in half-yearly parts, and is sent post free to all members.

The Annual Subscription for membership of the Society is one guinea. The composition fee for life membership is ten guineas for persons over fifty years of age, and fifteen guineas for others. Student Associates are admitted at the reduced subscription of 10s. 6d.

Persons desirous of joining the Society are asked to communicate with the Secretary at the Haverfield Library, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

## The Classical Association.

The objects of the Classical Association are to promote the development and maintain the well-being of classical studies, and in particular (a) to impress upon public opinion the claim of such studies to an eminent place in the national scheme of education; (b) to improve the practice of classical teaching; (c) to encourage investigation and call attention to new discoveries; (d) to create opportunities for intercourse among lovers of classical learning.

Membership of the Association is open to men and women alike. The annual subscription is 5s. (life composition, £3 15s.), and there is an entrance fee of 5s., from which members of local branches are exempt and which is not charged to Libraries. Members receive a copy of the annual *Proceedings* of the Association and, on a payment of 2/6, of *The Year's Work in Classical Studies* (both post free.) They may also obtain the *Classical Review* and *Classical Quarterly* at reduced prices, though the reduction cannot be guaranteed unless the subscription is paid before January 31st in each year. *Greece and Rome* may be obtained for an annual subscription of 7s. 6d.

Applications for membership should be addressed to the Assistant Treasurer, Classical Association, c/o The Triangle Offices, 61 South Molton Street, W.1. Inquiries should also be sent to The Triangle Offices, addressed either to the Hon. Secretaries of the Association (Mr. R. M. Rattenbury and Prof. T. B. L. Webster), or to the Hon. Secretary of any one of the District Branches, viz., Aberystwyth, Bedford and Northampton, Birmingham, Bristol, Cambridge, Cardiff, East Anglia, Hull, Kent, Leeds, Leicester, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Northumberland and Durham, North Wales, Nottingham, Oxford, Reading, Sheffield, Southampton, South Western, Sussex, Swansea, Taunton and West Somerset.









FIG. 1.—DETAIL OF FRESCO FROM POMPEII.

ΙΥΓΞ, POMBOΣ, RHOMBUS, TURBO

[PLATE I.]

THE student of Theocritus who wishes to know what is the *ρόμβος* plied by Simaetha at l. 30 of the second Idyll will find it identified in the scholia with the *ιυγξ* of the refrain; and of all the modern commentators who express an opinion, Legrand is alone in questioning the identification. And yet to the attentive reader it should seem more than questionable. It will be well to begin with an examination of the passage.<sup>1</sup>

The incantation of Simaetha, who might say, with Tibullus (l. 5. 16), *nota novem Triviae nocte silente dedi*, consists of nine terms, each of four verses, framed and articulated by the intercalary verse, *ιυγξ ἔλκε τὸ τῆνον ἑμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν ἄνδρα*, of which there are therefore ten occurrences. The type to which the terms of the incantation in the main conform is given in the first two quatrains—(1) *Strew barley-groats on the fire and say, 'I strew the bones of Delphis.'* (2) *I burn bay-leaves: so may Delphis burn.* It consists, that is, of a magic act, accompanied by a prayer or by a statement equivalent to a prayer. But the theme having been fixed by the two

<sup>1</sup> For the analysis of the incantation see M. C. B. L. Gildersleeve, p. 313. Sutphen, *Magic in T. and Vergil* (*Studies in Honor of* J.H.S.—VOL. LIV.



opening terms, Theocritus introduces variations. The whole incantation may be briefly set out as follows:

	Act.	Prayer.
1 {18-21}	Barley burnt	I burn Delphis's bones
2 {23-26}	Laurel burnt	So may D. waste
3 {33-36}	Husks burnt	—
4 {38-41}	—	—
5 {28-31} <sup>a</sup>	Wax melted	So may D. melt
	<sup>b</sup> Rhombus whirled	So may D. turn about my door
6 {43-46}	Libation	May D. forget my rivals
7 {48-51}	—	May D. come to my house
8 {53-56}	Fringe of cloak burnt	—
9 {58-62}	Θρόνα kneaded	I knead the bones of Delphis.

It will be observed that in terms 3 and 8 the prayer is missing, in term 7 the act; but all may be easily supplied. In 8, where the act concerns a personal relic of Delphis, the prayer breaks down in a groan, but it is presumably akin to that in terms 1 and 2: in 3 it must be *thou that canst move Hell's adamant and aught else as stubborn, move the stubborn heart of Delphis*.<sup>2</sup> The missing act in 7 is the burning or other magic treatment of the plant *hippomanes*. In term 4 the rite has slowed down at the approach of the goddess: Simaetha notices that the silence which is a necessary condition of success<sup>3</sup> is present in all outside herself, but there is neither act nor prayer. The quatrain which follows<sup>4</sup> contains, in compensation, two acts and two prayers: and after this marked variation from the type, term 5 repeats in its simple form the theme given by terms 1 and 2. It is repeated again in the ninth term, where, as in term 1, the act is delegated to Thestylis and the prayer replaced by a statement: and these resemblances, which warn the hearer that the incantation is ending, are reinforced by a verbal echo—21 πάσσε καὶ λέγε τὰ Δέλφιδος ὅστια πάσσω, 59 ὑπόμαζον καὶ λέγε τὰ Δέλφιδος ὅστια μάσσω. The nine quatrains of the incantation, as has been said, are articulated by the refrain, which resembles them in content, for the prayer *bring me Delphis* must be accompanied by the appropriate action with the ἰυγξ. The intercalary verse therefore conforms to the act-and-prayer pattern of the quatrains. The whole passage, in short, is composed with the most elaborate artifice, in face of which it seems remotely improbable that the ἰυγξ which serves as a recurrent interlude to separate one spell from another should reappear under

<sup>2</sup> The χαλκίον of this quatrain is rightly understood by the scholiasts: it is not part of the incantation but what the magic papyrus call a φυλακτήριον. The magician who has raised an evil power is in danger unless he averts it from himself. Simaetha, warned of Hekate's approach by the barking of dogs, takes personal precautions. So in similar circumstances says Jason, ἀπὸ γὰρ χαλκίου κρούων ἑλπίσθησιν (Orph. Arg. 965). Alex. [Aphr.] prob. 2. 46 (Ideler, Phys. Gr. Min. 1. 65) εἰσφέρει χαλκίον καὶ

αἰθῆρον διδραμεὶ πάντες ἐς τοὺς βαλάνους ἀπιδεύοντες, and the clashing of metal for apotropaic purposes at eclipses is familiar: cf. n. 26. Similarly at 62 Thestylis is to spit as a φυλακτήριον.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. CR. 39, 18.

<sup>4</sup> ll. 28-31 are so placed both in K, the best MS., and in the Autinoe papyrus. The analysis seems to me to make it certain that this is their true position.



another name as one of the spells—that a bit of the frame should be mixed up with the picture.

The identification of ΙΥΓΞ and ρόμβος is not confined to commentators on Theocritus, and the statements of scholia and ancient lexicographers are so confused that the confusion of modern authorities is pardonable.<sup>5</sup> The most industrious of scholiasts may be forgiven for imperfect acquaintance with the practices of black magic, and it is little wonder if their descriptions of these unfamiliar implements leave, as they do, some problems which seem insoluble: still, I think that our confusion is greater than it need be, and the aim of this paper is to clear some part of it away. First, then, for the ΙΥΓΞ.

"ΙΥΓΞ is, in mythology, a nymph who by her spells captured the affections of Zeus either for Io or for herself and was turned by Hera either to stone or into the bird ΙΥΓΞ, the wryneck, *torquilla*. The use of the bird in magic is probably due to the curious writhing movements of the neck in the pairing season, which were thought to attract the bird's mate. The bird was spread-eagled on a wheel and the wheel made to revolve, thereby drawing the person whom it was desired to attract. This invention is ascribed by Pindar to Aphrodite: *Pyth.* 4. 214 ποικίλαν ΙΥΓΓα τετράκναμον Ούλυμπόθεν | ἐν ἀλύτῳ ζεύξαισα κύκλῳ | μαινάδ' ὄρνιν Κύπρῳγένεια φέρεν | πρῶτον ἀνθρώποισι. The word is used also for a magic wheel with no bird attached to it (as presumably in Theocritus), and, as early as Pindar and Aeschylus, metaphorically for *desire* (*Nem.* 4. 35, *Pers.* 989).<sup>6</sup> An anonymous Alexandrian epigram contains the dedication of such a magic wheel: *A.P.* 5. 204 (205) ἼΥΓΞ ἡ Νικοῦς, ἡ καὶ διαπόντιον ἔλκειν | ἄνδρα καὶ ἐκ θαλάμων παῖδας ἐπισταμένη, | χρυσῷ ποικιθεῖσα, διαυγέος ἐξ ἀμεθύστου | γλυπτῇ, σοὶ κεῖται, Κύπρι, φίλον κτέανον, | πορφυρέης ἀμνοῦ μαλακῇ τριχὶ μέσσα δεθείσα, | τῆς Λαρισαίης ξείνια φαρμακίδος.

With this information it is easy to identify the object, for it is frequently represented on vases and other monuments. It is a spoked wheel (sometimes it might be a disc) with two holes on either side of the centre. A cord is passed through one hole and back through the other; if the loop on one side of the instrument is held in one hand, the two ends (which it is convenient to join) in the other, and the tension alternately increased and relaxed, the twisting and untwisting of the cords will cause the instrument to revolve rapidly, first in one direction and then in the other. It is a common attribute of Eros, especially on Apulian vases, and is seen in use on one end of a gold bobbin of the late fifth century B.C. (Pl. I,

<sup>5</sup> On ΙΥΓΞ and ρόμβος see Darenberg and Saglio *s.v.* *Rhombus*, Pauly-Wissowa and Roscher *s.v.* ἼΥΓΞ, Smith, *Dict. Ant.* *s.v.* *Turbo*, A. Abt, *Die Apologie d. Apuleius*, p. 104, R. Dedo, *de ant. superstitionis amatoria*, p. 17, S. Eitrem, *Opferfesta*, p. 35, Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds*, p. 71, *Rev. K. Sieck, Ges. d. Wiss.* 6, 236, *JHS.* 7, 157, Voss on *Vulg. B.* 8. 68. I have not thought it necessary to discuss the very varied opinions expressed in these places and in the commentaries on Theocritus.

The origin of the ΙΥΓΞ-wheel is discussed in A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I, p. 253.

<sup>6</sup> Phot., Hesych., Suid., *s.v.*, Schol. *Pind. Nem.* 4. 35 (56), *Pyth.* 4. 214 (381), *Theoc.* 2. 17. The small birds not infrequently depicted in domestic scenes (e.g. in fig. 2) have been called wrynecks, but on quite inadequate grounds. Even the bird which brings an ΙΥΓΞ to Aphrodite (Minervini, *Mon. Ined.* T. 18) is rather a dove than the instrument's eponym.





FIG. 2.—FROM A HYDRIA BY THE MEIDIAS PAINTER.



FIG. 3.—FROM A PYXIS BY THE ERETRIA PAINTER.

centre),<sup>7</sup> in certain small figures of Eros used as earring or necklace pendants (Pl. I),<sup>8</sup> and in a fresco of Ares and Aphrodite from the *Casa dell' Amore Punito* at Pompeii (fig. 1).<sup>9</sup> On a Meidian hydria in Florence Himeros operates it under the nose of Adonis, who lies in Aphrodite's lap (fig. 2),<sup>10</sup> and it is sometimes used also by women in scenes connected with marriage (fig. 3).<sup>11</sup> In the Apulian examples there are usually rounded or pointed projections from the edge of the wheel (fig. 4);<sup>12</sup> in the other examples the wheel is always in motion and this detail therefore cannot be observed. Fig. 5 shews two specimens made for experimental purposes,<sup>13</sup> fig. 6 the first of them in operation.

I do not know whether this instrument is still in use anywhere for magical or religious purposes, but it is a fairly familiar toy in England and elsewhere,<sup>14</sup> and its Arabian counterpart is pleasantly described by C. M. Doughty in *Arabia Deserta* (ch. 15): 'Some have a toy, *ferneyny*, of a shard pierced with two eyes, and twice stringed with a sewing thread, that the mothers spin finely for them of their best camel down; this stone or else it is a shive of wood, is slung in the midst, and with a cast in the air they twist up the two threads into a double twine, and then drawing out and slacking, their gig spins with a loud whirring.'

The ΙΥΓΞ, then, is a wheel or possibly a disc. The ρόμβος, like the ΙΥΓΞ, is an instrument for attracting (*e.g.* Luc. *Dial. Mer.* 4. 5), and is used also in Dionysiac mysteries, as the ΙΥΓΞ is not said to be.<sup>14a</sup> Seeing, however, that it has given its name to an equilateral parallelogram, it would be strange if it were naturally wheel-shaped, and one set of glosses enables us to identify it with quite a different instrument. Schol. Clem. Al. *Protr.* p. 15 P writes, on the respectable authority of Diogenianus, ρόμβος δίνος, κώνος, ξυλάριον οὐ ἐξηπται τὸ σπαρτίον, καὶ ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς ἐδοκεῖτο ἵνα ροιζῇ. The last clause must refer to ρόμβος, not to κώνος, for the words occur again, though without the name of Diogenianus, in

<sup>7</sup> B.M. *Jewellery* 2067; cf. Furtwaengler-Reichhold 3, p. 333.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.* 1670-3, 1946. A similar earring in Berlin, Hadaczek, *Gr. Ornaments*, Abb. 53, R. Zahn, *Ausstellung von Schmuckarbeiten aus d. St. Muren*, p. 38.

<sup>9</sup> From Hermann, *Denkm.* Taf. 2; cf. L. Curtius, *Wandmal. Pomp.* p. 249.

<sup>10</sup> From Milan, *Mon. Scult.* T. 4: near the end of the fifth century.

<sup>11</sup> Pyxis, London E 744, by the Eretria painter, about 430 B.C. (Furtwaengler-Reichhold, 1, T. 57). The main scene on this pyxis—a woman dressing—is shown by the marriage-vases to be the preparation for a wedding, and the Nereid names of the ladies place it in the house of Nereus, though it is treated otherwise as an Athenian domestic scene. Cf. *AM.* 32, p. 92. In fig. 3 the strings are looped round the left thumb and right index finger: on a fourth-century Apulian situla in the Villa Giulia (CV. Villa Giulia, IVDr. pl. 1 and 2. 2) Eros uses both thumbs: in fig. 2 Himeros holds the strings in his hands, as does Eros in the fresco.

<sup>12</sup> From London F 373, F 409, F 458.

<sup>13</sup> They are made of three-ply wood. The extra holes were to ascertain the best position for the strings, and shewed that unless the holes are quite close together the instrument is difficult to spin. If the wheel has a smooth edge, the instrument makes no more than a faint whirr: with a serrated edge an agreeable windy whistle may be produced. A similar sound may be made by spinning a diamond-shaped instrument in the same way—a fact which may seem to some, though it does not to me, to provide a solution of a difficulty to which we are coming.

It may be mentioned that where the ΙΥΓΞ is represented in use, it usually looks more like a ring than a wheel: that is because the rapidly rotating spokes are not drawn: cf. fig. 6.

<sup>14</sup> The Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology has examples from Portuguese E. Africa and from Greenland.

<sup>14a</sup> Cf. however Hesych.: 'ΙΥΓΓΙΣ δ' ἀδινούσας, Cook, *Zett.* 1, p. 258.



Hesychius s.v. ῥόμβος, and the *Etymologicum Magnum* gives as one explanation of the word μυστικῶ στανιδίῳ ὃ στρέφουσιν εἰς τὸν ἀέρα καὶ ἤχον ἐμποιοῦσι. The scholiast's note, therefore, though it has been otherwise punctuated, contains three definitions of ῥόμβος. With the first two we are not now concerned: the instrument described in the third, and in the *Etymologicum*,



FIG. 4.—FROM APULLIAN VASES.

though I know no ancient representation of it, is pretty plainly the *turndun* of Australian aboriginals, or bull-roarer of modern England. In Australia this is an oblong piece of wood to the point of which a cord is attached. The instrument is swung in a circle by the cord<sup>15</sup> and emits a muttering roar which rises in pitch as the speed is increased. That is, in fact, what

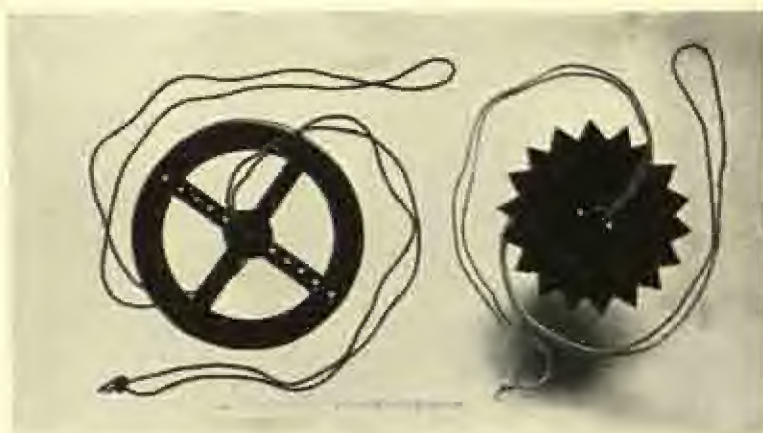


FIG. 5.—"Wγγες."

Archytas says of ῥόμβοι (Diels, *Vors.* 1, p. 334, ἀσυχᾶ μὲν κινούμενοι βαρύν ἀφίεντι ἄχον, ἰσχυρῶς δὲ ὀξύν), and the whole performance is very aptly described by Euripides (*Hel.* 1361) as ῥόμβου εἰλισσομένα | κύκλιος ἑνοσις αἰθερία. Similar instruments of different shapes are known from other countries, and I have found the diamond-shaped tin object, shewn in fig. 7 beside a *turndun* from New South Wales, more effective for its size than the larger wooden specimen. Considering the use of the word in

<sup>15</sup> ῥαμβέιν, σπειρόμεν Suid.

geometry, I think we may assume that the Greek bull-roarer was usually of this pattern.<sup>16</sup>



FIG. 6.—Iyγξ IN ACTION.

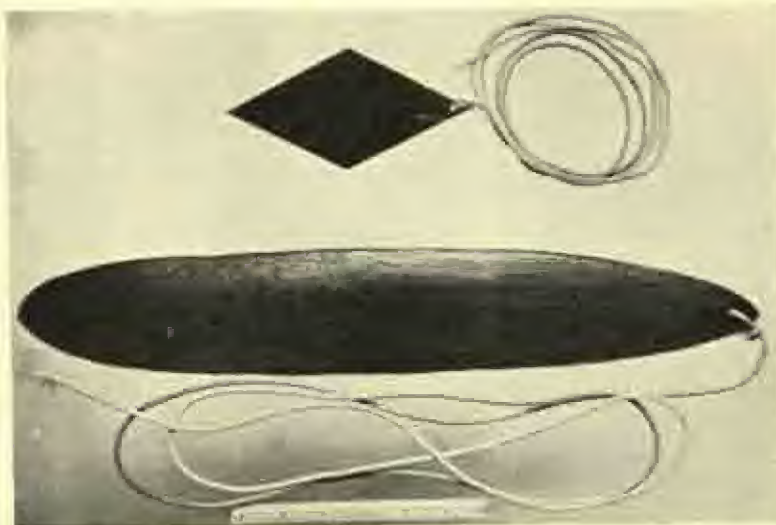


FIG. 7.—BULL-ROARERS.

And here, I think, our difficulties with Theocritus are at an end. At each recurrence of the refrain Simaetha takes up her magic wheel and sets it spinning: at l. 30 she swings a bronze bull-roarer; the purpose

<sup>16</sup> On the bull-roarer see Andrew Lang, *Custom and Myth* (ed. 1904), p. 29. Lang first drew attention to Schol. Clem. Al. in this connexion. The name *bull-roarer*, which is now familiar, seems to rest on his authority. Seeing that *βούροι* are more than

once mentioned together with *τόρωνα* (n. 18 below), it is quite likely that the *τοῦς-βούρους ἄνθρωποι*, which appear in the same company in *Aesch. fr. 57*, are, or include, *βούροι*.



is the same, the method, as we had already seen reason to suppose, different. Whether *ρόμβος* always means a bull-roarer is a more difficult question which we must now consider.

The passages in Latin literature relating to the *rhombus* are mostly non-committal. They refer to a magic instrument of attraction, but whether it is a wheel or a bull-roarer is no more apparent than in Theocr. 2. 30 or in *A.P.* 6. 165 *στρεπτόν βασσαρικοῦ ρόμβον θιάσιοιο μῦωπα*.<sup>17</sup> In one place, however, it might be supposed to be a wheel: Propertius (3. 6. 26) writes *staminea rhombi ducitur ille rota*. With this passage must be considered also *Et. Mag.* 706. 29 *ἔστι δὲ τροχίσκος ὃν τύπτοντες ἡμᾶσι καὶ στρέφοντες ποιοῦσι περιδονεῖσθαι καὶ ψόφον ἀποτελεῖν*, Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1139 *ρόμβος· τροχίσκος ὃν στρέφουσιν ἡμᾶσι τύπτοντες καὶ οὕτως κτύπον ἀποτελοῦσι*, 4. 144 *τὸ κινούμενον τροχίσκιον ὑπὸ τῶν φαρμακίδων ῥυμβίον καλεῖται* (cf. Eustath. 1387. 42 and on Dion. Per. 1134), Schol. Theocr. 2. 30 (an interlinear gloss in two MSS.) *ἀτρακτος, ὃ χαλκοῦς τροχὸς ἢ ὁ στερεός*. At first sight these passages seem to shew that *ρόμβος* and *rhombus* were sometimes used of a wheel, but I doubt whether any weight can really be attached to the glosses. It is evident, in the first place, that ancient scholars were puzzled by the word. Photius writes *ὁ ἔχουσιν οἱ ἐπιθειάζοντες ὡς τύμπανον*, presumably because *ρόμβος* and timbrel occur in conjunction in more places than one.<sup>18</sup> The scholia to Clement, in addition to two definitions of *κῶνος* and to the three of *ρόμβος* mentioned above (p. 5), add *ὁ κῶνος καὶ ρόμβος· εἶδη ἀρχήσεως*: those to Theocritus, which are plainly much at sea over Simaetha's magic, and have already, both on l. 17 and l. 30, identified *ἡγξ* and *ρόμβος*, confound the confusion by stating in both places that the wheel is made of wax and melted on the fire—a foolish inference from l. 28 which Tzetzes has copied into his note on Lycophron 310. Now the note on Theocr. 2. 30 quoted above, though it does not, like the other note on that line and the note on l. 17, mention the *ἡγξ*, takes us no further than they do. If you think that the *ρόμβος* is the same as the *ἡγξ*, it is quite correct to define it as a wheel, and that identification is pretty clearly responsible not only for the note on Theocr. 2. 30, but also for that on Ap. Rhod. 4. 144. The common source of the notes in the *Etymologicum*, in Eustathius, and on Ap. Rhod. 1. 1139 does not betray its origin so plainly, but it introduces yet a new confusion; for when it writes *τύπτοντες ἡμᾶσι*, it describes what you do neither to a bull-roarer nor to an *ἡγξ* nor to any kind of wheel, but to a whipping-top.<sup>19</sup> The position, in short, is this: ancient scholarship, which

<sup>17</sup> The passages known to me are: Prop. 2. 28. 25 *magica torti sub carmine rhombi*, Ov. Am. 1. 8. 7 *sorte amictu rhombo licia*, Fast. 2. 575 *cantata ligat cum fuso licia rhombu* (v. ll. *tenet, fuso, plumbu*), Mart. 9. 29. 9 *Thessalica lunam deducere rhombu*, 12. 57. 17 *serta Coliba luna impulat rhombu*, to which may be added Lucan 6. 450 *sorti magica vestigine fll.*

<sup>18</sup> The gloss perhaps arises from Pindar, p. Ox. 1604 (Schr. 1930, p. 345): *σπεῖθ' αὖτε κατὰρχα | οὐρίαι τῶν μεγάλῃ βόμβῳ τυτάνων*—the thunders of drums loudeth off the service (Farnell 1. 328), *les timbales*

*rondes ouvrent le bran* (Puech 4. 148). Pindar uses the word *βόμβος* oddly at *Ol.* 13. 94 and *fr.* 4. 47: seeing, however, that *βόμβος* and *τύμπανος* are elsewhere mentioned as independent instruments in this cult (Ap. Rh. 1. 1139, Ath. 14. 636 A; cf. *A.P.* 6. 165), and that Pindar goes on with *ἐρτολας* and other noises, I suspect that the oddity here resides rather in *κατὰρχα*, and that he means the bull-rovers lead the timbrels.

<sup>19</sup> The word *βόμβος* occurs in the list of Dionysus's toys in the Orphic lines on which the scholiast to



is evidently puzzled by the word, has in the second Idyll of Theocritus identified the ρόμβος with the ιυγξ-wheel: we have seen reason to think that identification entirely false, and, if it is so, then, on the present evidence, all the glosses which define the ρόμβος as a wheel must be disregarded. They are in all probability due to that confusion, and quite probably also derived from the commentaries on Theocritus.

There remains, therefore, only Propertius's *staminea rota rhombi*, though our conclusions in this case will no doubt extend to the other occurrences of *rhombus* in Latin poetry. We cannot indeed exclude the possibility that Propertius shared the mistaken belief of Greek scholars that ιυγξ and ρόμβος were the same,<sup>20</sup> but I think another explanation more probable. *Staminea rota* would perhaps be a suitable poetical description of the ιυγξ spinning on its two strings: I suggest, however, that it is more apposite of the bull-roarer circling on the end of its cord (to which Euripides had already applied the adjective κύκλιος), and that that is in fact Propertius's meaning. Whether *rota* means the circular track of the instrument<sup>21</sup> I will not discuss, since a bull-roarer, if swung fast enough, really looks like a wheel and *rota* may have its ordinary meaning.

The bird *inyx* is mentioned by Pliny (*N.H.* 11. 256): otherwise the word, if it occurs at all in Latin, occurs only in a list of magical materials quoted by Apulcius (*Ap.* 30) from Laevius, where Scaliger substituted *trochisci*, *inyges*, *taeniae* for the MS. *trochiscili unges taeniae*, and most editors print *trochiscili ungues*. Even supposing that *inyges* is correct and means the instrument, not the bird, its left-hand neighbour shews that the word need have little claim to be considered Latin. If, therefore, *inyx* is not Latin and *rhombus* means *bull-roarer* and has failed to establish its claim to any other magical meaning, what is the Latin for the instrument which the Greeks called ιυγξ? If Servius is to be believed, it is *turbo*, for at *B.* 8. 21 he translates Theocritus's refrain *o turbo maritum meum domum adducito*. This word occurs in a magical connexion only in Horace's prayer to Canidia, *Epod.* 17. 7 *citumque retro solus solus turbinem*, where the ancient commentators are silent except for notes in schol. 17 which provide unhelpfully both ιυγξ and ρόμβος as explanations. Neither Horace's line nor the other uses of the word *turbo* help us much to decide its meaning. It must be a revolving instrument of some sort, and in default of further information we ought perhaps to accept Servius's equation; but for my own part I should do so with grave misgiving. In the first place the ancient

Clement is commenting: κώνος καὶ ρόμβος καὶ παίγνια κοινωμένοιαι | ἢ ἢ ἢ τὰ χροῖμας ἐκὼς τὰρ 'Ἐπι-  
ρίθιος λεγόμενα' (cf. *Orph. Fr.* 31. 20 K.), and, to-  
gether with ball, knuckle-bones and castanets, as a  
human child's toy at *A.P.* 6. 309. Κώνος, which is  
ambiguously glossed στροβίλος by Hesychius and  
schol. Clem., seems to mean top. Schol. Clem., as  
we have seen, goes on to equate κώνος and ρόμβος.  
Hesychius has βαρβακίζε· ρομβί: βάρβικος δίκη· ρομβου  
τρόπον: βάρβιξ· ρομβός: see Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*,  
p. 699. Possibly, therefore, the word really has this  
meaning and the reference to whipping belongs to  
that sense rather than to a mere misunderstand-

ing. In case it may give somebody trouble, I will  
add that a geometrical cone, if swung by its apex,  
does not, and cannot, produce the sound of a bull-  
roarer.

<sup>20</sup> Theon, to whose commentary some at any  
rate of our scholia go back, must have been a near  
contemporary. His father Artemidorus died, of  
nervous breakdown after meeting a crocodile,  
apparently in the first half of the first century B.C.  
(*Hermes* 35, p. 543).

<sup>21</sup> At Val. Fl. 5. 414, Sen. *H.F.* 189, *rota* is the  
circular course of the moon and the year respectively.



commentators on Virgil appear to have used the commentaries on Theocritus,<sup>22</sup> and Servius may well have shared their confusion and equated *λυγξ* and *ρόμβος*: in the second place the *λυγξ* is an instrument which must necessarily rotate first in one direction and then in the other, and, if Horace knew what he was talking about, the appeal to reverse direction would be less appropriate to an *λυγξ* than to a bull-roarer or some other instrument which could rotate continuously in the same direction.<sup>23</sup> Further: the



FIG. 8.—BRONZE IN BERLIN.

*λυγξ*-wheel is mentioned by Theocritus and by an Alexandrian epigrammatist (p. 3); after them, though the word *λυγξ* is used, so far as I am aware, its sense is always metaphorical except perhaps once in Lucian.<sup>24</sup> Nor do I know any representation of the instrument later than 300 B.C.

<sup>22</sup> Wendel, *Ueberlieferung u. Entstehung d. Theokritscholien*, p. 68.

<sup>23</sup> Elsewhere *λύξ* means spindle and *τόξ*, and as both these have also cropped up in connexion with *ρόμβος* (p. 8 and n. 19), it is natural to inquire whether either meaning will serve here. Spindles were the object of superstition in Italy (Pliny *N.H.* 28, 28), but I know of no evidence that either they

or tops were used in magic. The magic papyri mention *τρούβιδες* several times, but in all cases the context seems to preclude the meaning *top*. The adjective *δριόξ* twice attached to them (*Pap. Gr. Mag.* 2. 23, 13. 9) suggests perhaps shells or pinecones with a right-handed spiral.

<sup>24</sup> *de Dem.* 13 *ὡς περ ὅτι λυγγος ἢ τερήρεος τοῦ κἀλλας θεότατος*.



except the classicising fresco from Pompeii,<sup>25</sup> and neither painter nor writer is valid evidence for its use in his own day. Moreover, the magic papyri, which date from the first five centuries of our era and are full of love-magic, contain no mention of it.<sup>26</sup> This silence together with the very shadowy evidence of its existence in Latin literature invites the suspicion that it may have passed out of use.

No specimens either of ΙΥΓΞ or of ρόμβοι are known to exist. Either might easily pass unrecognised, and it is possible that specimens lurk undetected in the repositories of our museums, but I do not think it very probable. Simaetha's bull-roarer was of bronze, and Hekate's symbol is one of iron (*Pap. Gr. Mag.* 4. 2336), but the σκιιδιον of the glosses shews wood to have been the usual material. Niko's dedicatory ΙΥΓΞ, if it ever existed, may have been made of amethyst and gold, but for practical purposes the wheel must be light, and either wood or very thin metal seems the likely material. It would be a lucky chance if either ρόμβος or ΙΥΓΞ survived. Though, however, I cannot point to specimens of either of the instruments we have been discussing, there are in Berlin, Paris and London objects which have been thought to be ΙΥΓΞ. All are of the fourth century and are said to come from Corinth: they are round objects formed of two shallow bowls of bronze joined together. These are pierced through the centre, and mounted on a forked rod so that they can revolve; and three of them are ornamented with repoussé designs repeated, or nearly repeated, on the two sides. The first of these designs (fig. 8) represents a draped woman conversing with a young man; the second (fig. 9) a man and a woman with thyrsi; the third (reproduced in fig. 10 with two plainer specimens)<sup>27</sup> a seated child. It is extremely difficult to guess what purpose these things may have served, and since revolving objects are used in attractive magic, it is possible that they may have had some such function. The subjects of the decoration, however, do not suggest love-magic, the implements themselves seem over-elaborate for such a purpose, and in any case they have little claim to the name ΙΥΓΞ.<sup>28</sup>

For completeness' sake one other instrument mentioned in literary

<sup>25</sup> It should perhaps be mentioned here that two Italic pastes of the 2nd-1st century B.C. (Furtwängler, *Beitr. d. gesch. Stene im Antiqu.* 556, T. 12, *Ant. Gewin.* T. 24. 55, my fig. 11; King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, 1. p. 376) shew a wheel, which has been taken for an ΙΥΓΞ, on a column: over the wheel passes a cord, of which one end is held by Eros, the other by a winged female figure whom Furtwängler calls Nemesis-Psyche. I do not understand this representation, but, as the cord passes round the circumference and not through the hub of the wheel, it is unlikely that the wheel is an ΙΥΓΞ: cf. *Hor. C.* 3. 10. 10.

<sup>26</sup> The ρόμβος is not common there but it occurs at least twice—once as an attribute of Hekate (*Pap. Gr. Mag.* 4. 2336) and once in ritual (*ib.* 2296): ρόμβον σιγῶναι καὶ κατὰ δὴλον ὁδὸν ἀποτρῶναι—that is, 'I am using attractive and abstaining from apotro-

phic magic' (n. 2 above).

<sup>27</sup> The Berlin example is figured from *Ad.* 1894, p. 119, the Louvre example from De Ridder, *Bronzes ant. du Louvre*, pl. 76. 1694. Of the London examples two are *BM Bronzes* 878, 879: the third came to the Museum from the Preston collection. The London specimens are described as children's toys, and certainly they would trundle better than they would spin. The Louvre specimen measures 1' 6½"; B.M. 878, 879, 1' 2½" and 9½", respectively. The Berlin specimen, when complete, was probably a little shorter than that in the Louvre.

<sup>28</sup> My friend Professor G. A. S. Snijder calls my attention to an Italian skyphos in Geneva published by Deonna (*Rev. Arch.* 1916, 2. 252) and connected by him with magic wheels. The representation is mysterious, but I see no reason to think that he is right.



sources deserves a word. It is described by Psellus (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* vol. 122, 1133): 'Εκάτινος στρόφαλος σφαῖρά ἐστι χρυσῇ μέσον σάπφειρον περι- κλείουσα, διὰ ταυρείου στρεφομένη ἱμάντος, δι' ὅλης αὐτῆς ἔχουσα χαρακτῆρας, ἣν δὴ στρέφοντες ἐποιοῦντο τὰς ἐπικλήσεις. καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα καλεῖν εἰώθασιν ἱγγας, εἴτε σφαιρικὸν εἶχον εἴτε τρίγωνον εἴτε καὶ ὅτι σχῆμα. ἃ δὲ δονοῦντες τοὺς



FIG. 9.—BRONZE IN THE LOUVRE.



FIG. 10.—BRONZES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

ἀσήμευς ἢ κτηνώδεις ἐξεφώνουν ἦχους, γελῶντες καὶ τὸν ἀέρα μαστίζοντες. A closely similar description occurs in Nicephorus Gregoras (*ib.* vol. 149, 540), who, if his text is trustworthy, calls the instrument 'Εκατικὸς στρόφος and says that the ἐπικλήσεις, not the objects, were called ἱγγες. I do not think this instrument, whether called ἱγξ or not, of importance for our

present inquiry. The χαρακτήρες with which it is covered remind one of the curious concave disc found with other magical implements at Pergamum: <sup>29</sup> this is divided into thirty-two fields engraved with letters and other signs and was probably used for divination, like the Δημοκρίτου σφαῖρα προγνωστικὸν ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου of a Leiden magic papyrus (*Pap. Gr. Mag.* 12. 351).

If the golden λυγγες <sup>30</sup> which are said to have hung from the roofs of a palace in Babylon and of a temple of Apollo at Delphi (*Philostr. Vit. Ap.* 1. 25, 6. 11) are not pure fairy-tale, I will not attempt to guess what they may have been. <sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> R. Wünsch, *Antikes Zaubergerät aus Pergamon*, p. 45, Taf. 2.

<sup>30</sup> See on them Cook, *Zeus*, 1, p. 258.

<sup>31</sup> I am indebted to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to reproduce objects in the Museum: to Dr. R. Zahn in Berlin for the imprint

reproduced in fig. 11 and for various information: to Mr. T. C. M. Winwood for the photograph reproduced in fig. 6. The substance of this paper was read to the Cambridge Philological Society on Oct. 26, 1933.



FIG. 11.—PAPYRUS IN BERLIN. (See n. 25.)



## THE PROMETHEUS

DR. FARNELL's article on the *Prometheus* (*JHS.* liii, 40) demands serious attention, not only for the sake of the play and of Aeschylus himself, but also because it raises a question of fundamental importance to criticism.

Dr. Farnell divided the critics of the *Prometheus* into two groups. There are those who have surveyed the soul and mind, not to mention the language, of the poet to the last square yard, and have proved that Aeschylus never wrote the play at all. These heroes of scientific criticism, to whom Dr. Farnell has done curt justice, need not detain us; οὐ γὰρ φοβερὸν οὐδὲ ἐλκεῖν τούτο, ἀλλὰ μικρόν ἐστιν. Then there are the ordinary commentators on the play, who 'through their lack of familiarity with Greek or Comparative Religion' have missed its real significance. 'Ο μεταξύ ἄρα τούτων λοιπός, and he is Dr. Farnell, whose knowledge of Comparative Religion told him that Aeschylus could not have written this play, while his literary sense told him that Aeschylus did. The impasse is complete, and it is the signal merit of Dr. Farnell's article that it brings the dilemma into the open and states it with a fullness and a force almost worthy of the first play of an Aeschylean trilogy.

Let us first consider the relations of Prometheus and Zeus—for here, I think, is the heart of the difficulty. There is the view that Prometheus was an interfering fool who deserved what he got. Dr. Farnell joins with Mr. Thomson in dismissing this as moral cretinism; it is worse. It is also intellectual cretinism, for it destroys the tragedy. Unless we can sympathise fully and poignantly with Prometheus, the play sinks to something like the level of melodrama. What then? Are we to find some mere Aristotelian ἀμαρτία in Prometheus? For certainly we must, somewhere in the trilogy, be able to sympathise with Zeus, or at least to see some reason in his action. Mr. Thomson sees this, and attributes to Prometheus as ἀμαρτία a deficiency in σωφροσύνη; to which Dr. Farnell's reply is entirely convincing. But, if Mr. Thomson is wrong on this point, is Dr. Farnell right? Is there no middle way? If the play is a tragedy, Zeus must have a case of some sort, but one which does not imply ἀμαρτία in Prometheus. We may perhaps find that case, for there is an alternative to the ἀμαρτία, the more tragic alternative, that his act may have been in no sense wrong, but ill-fitting—as Aristotle said in a different connexion—πρὸς ὃν ἢ ὅτε ἢ ὅτῳ ἢ οὐ ἕνεκα. To this we shall return; for the moment it is necessary to keep to Zeus and Prometheus.

Dr. Farnell insists time after time on the utter hatred of Zeus to Man and of Man to Zeus. Zeus is not merely an imperfect God but is entirely and without reservation evil; the High God of the Greeks is held up to us as a malignant deity, essentially hostile to man. It may well indeed have been a fateful crisis when the High God was so portrayed. But he



was not, for (1) he is not the High God at all, but a new and insecure tyrant; (2) he does not hate mankind; (3) he is not entirely and essentially evil.

(1) One may take it, I suppose, that the High God is at least immortal and all-powerful. But Prometheus confidently looks forward to Zeus' overthrow. Here, therefore, Aeschylus is concerned not with the High God, but with one who later became the High God. What Pheidias was doing seems to me to be irrelevant.

(2) We can, I think, be over-interested in the human race—in this play. Zeus, having with difficulty established himself, decides to destroy the poor things that were doing duty as humans at that time and to make another race. Why must this be malignant hatred? Let us keep our sense of proportion. Prometheus had not then done his civilising work; it was no new thing, at this early stage, for one race to succeed another on the earth;<sup>1</sup> and Zeus could surely urge that at this time it was good practical politics that a new God should have a new human race to deal with. I, at least, am unable fully to share Dr. Farnell's indignation.

(3) As there is no need to find a fault in Prometheus, so there is no need to whitewash Zeus—only to try to understand him. Why, for instance, neglect all the apologies for him at which Aeschylus hints? He is new, he is young, he suffers from the characteristic τυραννίδος νόσημα; he was victorious only δόλω, and that the δόλος of a recent enemy. He is brutal to Io, but that does not make him 'utterly evil.' He planned to destroy the human race, 'and there is no hint given by Aeschylus that Zeus intended to create a better; and in the Hesiodic poems, when Zeus destroys one race of men, a worse usually takes its place.' But what happens in the Hesiodic poems is not evidence, and let us think dramatically; for (a) had Zeus proposed to create a worse race, Prometheus would assuredly have said so himself and not left it to Hesiod; (b) if merely 'another' race, better or worse not being in question, then why give hints about it? (c) if a better, this would not have been pointed out by Prometheus, nor by Aeschylus in that part of the trilogy in which he concentrates sympathy on Prometheus. Aeschylus, in fact, has carefully left the question έξω τῆς τραγωδίας, and there it ought to remain. Moreover, we should not forget that we have yet no presentation of Zeus' side of the case. He does not reveal his purpose to Prometheus. Why should he? He merely issues orders.

These considerations may not convince. Then one may be advanced from a different quarter. We must decide whether this play is a tragedy or a religious document; whether Aeschylus was a dramatist or a preacher and propagandist. If in each case the latter, then the layman can have little to say. If the former, then one thing can be asserted with confidence, that Zeus is not all evil, for a being who is all evil is of no use to a tragic poet. Comparative Religion has its certainties; so, in its own sphere, has Literary Criticism, and this is one of them. A clash between a perfect

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mr. Max Beerbohm, *A Survey*; Mr. Bonar Law (indicating Mr. George Robey): 'Now he really is vulgar.' Mr. Asquith: 'I conceive, Sir, that he could plead justificatory tradition.'



Prometheus and an utterly evil Zeus may be instructive, destructive, what you will, but it is not Tragedy.<sup>2</sup>

If then we can conceive of Zeus as something less than the Devil, the paradox is already eased a little, but I feel that the 'Suffering God' motive needs, if not qualification, at least investigation. Why is Prometheus punished? Because, obviously, he saved the human race from destruction. But is it so obvious? Was he punished for this, or for the mere disobedience? Prometheus says repeatedly for this only; of course he does. It would be a strangely undramatic hero who should say that his services to Man were not the cause but only the occasion of his punishment. Kratos says so, but Kratos is a stupid underling. The sympathetic Hephaestus<sup>3</sup> exclaims, 'What a reward for your services to Man'; but Hephaestus was not necessarily in Zeus' inner counsel. Hermes, the direct emissary, speaks only of disobedience and defiance. If, as the trilogy unrolled itself, it should become apparent that Zeus' motive had indeed been his inability to endure disobedience, we have a fine stroke of tragedy in that the disobedience was offered in so noble a cause. And how the trilogy unrolled itself we do not know. We have some information about the mechanics of the plot; none about its inner motives.

But let us grant that the punishment was inflicted because of the *φιανθρωπία* itself. I think we should grant this (though not without scrutiny); it accords better with the tone of the play, and it heightens the tragedy. What then? Are we driven back into the paradox? Not in the least. I suggested that we should look for some relation, When, Where, or How, before attributing *ἀμαρτία* to Prometheus or senseless barbarity to Zeus. In the nature of the case we are compelled to guess. The guess hazarded above is perhaps defensible, but I am not concerned to defend it, for it rests on negative grounds, and there is a better guess which rests on something positive.

Is it not possible that we, with a greater analogy in our minds, are inclined to overemphasise this aspect of Prometheus as the Suffering God? It is perhaps not altogether idle to say that if you go back to such primitive legends for your subject, your hero must be a God of some sort; there was no one else. Heracles too appeared on the Athenian stage, and he suffered; he was even psychologically investigated by Euripides. Our dramatic scale is different, and we may forget it. My point is not to depreciate the significance of Prometheus as the Suffering God, but to suggest that Aeschylus may also have thought of him as a tragic hero; and that Aeschylus did so is suggested by at least one passage in the play. In the speech of Prometheus, 199 ff., there is adumbrated a fine tragic situation which I do not remember to have seen pointed out, one which, even if it is of no importance to the trilogy, is worth noticing as an illustration of the poet's dramatic fecundity. Prometheus, allied in blood and sympathy to the Titans, is unique among them in his foreknowledge, and

<sup>2</sup> Milton discovered this.

<sup>3</sup> I find it a little odd that the cult-alliance between Prometheus and Hephaestus should be invoked to

explain why Aeschylus made Hephaestus somewhat of a contrast to Kratos and Bia.



he alone knows that the victory is to go not to brute force but to Intelligence. Moreover, he has the necessary intelligence.<sup>4</sup> He naturally offers this weapon to his own friends, but they are too brutish to use it. The lonely Titan, unable to help his own side, goes over, hesitatingly, to Zeus, who, though perhaps not less cruel than the Titans, is at least teachable. But Prometheus cannot rest content with educating Zeus (if it may so crudely be put); he must rescue Man too from ignorance. It is surely a fine tragic conception, and it suggests that there was, to Aeschylus, another side to Prometheus than the Suffering God. So far we have the text as our guide; may we continue conjecturally? Zeus, even if not already determined to create for himself a new human race, at least tries to forestall the obvious design of his new ally to pass on this strange new weapon to man. He does not understand it, he does not feel sure of Prometheus' loyalty, and he fears a new and more formidable race of Titans. Prometheus, however, cannot stop; he goes on, and he suffers. Not malignant cruelty, perhaps, but sheer ignorant panic.

This, I trust, is not 'ingenious.' It is a guess, but it is based on something within the play, and it touches the framework of the play at several points. It lends to Zeus the beginnings of a sympathetic character without detracting from Prometheus, and to the audience a motive for Zeus' action which they could receive in the second play without feeling that they had been bamboozled in the first. This, or something like it, I suggest was the ill-fitting relation for which we were to look. I suggest that Prometheus was not presented as the Suffering God *tout court*; that his suffering was made the more tragic in that there was, from Zeus' point of view, some show of reason in it. In fact, that Aeschylus was not, in a groping and unexplained way, anticipating the Christian Tragedy, but very surely and magnificently anticipating the Aristotelian.

After Prometheus and Zeus, the poet himself demands attention. He is '*par excellence* the apostle of Zeus, as Pindar . . . of Apollo.' 'Pindar the apostle of Apollo' I find, if I may say so, a happy and an exact phrase, but 'Aeschylus the apostle of Zeus' less so. But we are to think of Aeschylus as believing in a received Zeus, a personal God, who is to be followed and defended? Pindar follows Apollo in this way, but Aeschylus was no Pindar. He does not follow; he searches and questions, and 'Zeus' is the result of his searches, an ever-receding symbol of an ever-deepening faith.<sup>5</sup> Why did Aeschylus nail Zeus to his mast-head and not Apollo? Surely for this reason among others, that Apollo was too brightly defined, already too personal to serve as the supreme symbol of his philosophic faith. In Apollo there was something to harmonise, but little to find out. It has been said before that Aeschylus virtually created Zeus; this seems nearer the truth than that he 'believed' in him. That a man of his calibre was in any essential sense confined in, or deeply interested in, a cult I find it difficult to imagine. What Dr. Farnell cites as 'the decisive passage' <sup>6</sup> seems to me to be decisive the wrong way. Aeschylus

<sup>4</sup> *ἑσπερὶ βουλῆς*, v. 221.

*οὐτὶ φίλον καὶ ἐλπίων, τοῦτό τις προσενέπω . . .*

<sup>5</sup> Again, 160-183, *Ζεὺς, ὅστις πᾶσι ἔστιν, εἰ τοῦ*

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sought Zeus, with very different weapons indeed, but in the same spirit, as Euripides; δυστόπαστον εἰδέναι is very like Aeschylus.

These are perhaps matters on which argument is bound to be ineffective. Each of us has a right to his own Aeschylus, and Dr. Farnell more than most. But one may perhaps be pardoned if one feels, in reading his article, that Dr. Farnell both knew and cared more about Zeus-cults than Aeschylus did; he saw in him a devotee of a cult which by this time had attained a certain stage of development. That Aeschylus should suddenly go back to the earliest and most unedifying legends Dr. Farnell found quite inexplicable. It is nearly as mystifying that he was not prosecuted for ἀσιβεία, for he could only have been attacking the received religion. Regard Aeschylus, however, not as an adherent to a cult or a devotee; regard his audience too as being willing to use their imaginations; think of Aeschylus as a profound religious philosopher and at the same time a poet who found in Zeus a possibly inadequate but the only conceivable symbol of God, as a poet and thinker who voyaged in regions far above the official religion of the average citizen—do this, and the 'challenge' fades. On Dr. Farnell's showing, it is inexplicable that Aeschylus should have suddenly rounded on his God; on this showing there can be no conceivable explanation short of mental failure. Nothing, surely, could have persuaded the poet to take this comparatively unimportant step, a mere waste of mental energy, of substituting Prometheus for Zeus in his dramatic symbolism—nothing, not even the Athenian potters. Once allow that the poet is greater than the cult, or that cult-worship is only one, and that not the profoundest expression of religious belief and experience, and this aspect of the paradox becomes much less oppressive.

The crux of the matter, so far as concerns this side of the argument, is contained in this sentence: 'We might say that Aeschylus gives himself up wholly to his dramatic imagination, which comes near to shattering his normal theologic creed.' But is it possible so to treat Aeschylus' mind as a dyarchy? Can one conceive of these tremendous creations, not only τοσαῦτα ὄντα, but also τοιαῦτα, as proceeding from anything but a mind completely and intensely at one with itself? one in which theologic creed, dramatic imagination, intensity of thought and power over his art were simply different expressions of the same thing? Dido ran away with Vergil, but because his hero was not sufficiently heroic to stop it; Satan ran away with Milton because pure Devil is not a dramatic character, and, however fully Milton was possessed by his theologic creed, it remained to some extent a *datum*. But Aeschylus, unlike Vergil and Milton, was unquestionably master in his own house. With him, surely, 'theologic creed' is only a figure of speech, only one aspect of the man himself, as his dramatic imagination is another. Had these two, in Aeschylus, suddenly started to work in opposite directions it would have been more than a crisis in Greek Religion; it would have been a cataclysm in Nature.

There remains the thorny problem of the λύσις. Dr. Farnell outlines the only conclusion that he would accept, and says that he cannot



imagine Aeschylus doing *that*. Neither can I; but those of us who hold the traditional view on this point may say that if we fail to suggest a convincing λύσις, that proves merely that we are no Aeschyli. But when Dr. Farnell says that Zeus is so blackened that no rehabilitation is credible, he has, I fear, Aeschylus against him. Prometheus makes several prophecies which are not fulfilled, but when Aeschylus allows him to say

ἀλλ' ἔμπας  
 μολακογνώμων  
 ἔσται ποθ', ὅταν ταύτη ραισθή·  
 τὴν δ' ὀτέραννον στορέσας ὀργήν  
 εἰς ἀρῆμόν ἐμοί καὶ φιλότῃτα  
 σπεύδων σπεύδοντί ποθ' ἦξει—

the poet is throwing down a challenge to himself which he is bound to take up. With the manner of its doing we are not at the moment concerned. I certainly am going to hariolate no more. The passage is conclusive, I think, for the view that reconciliation, therefore 'rehabilitation,' therefore some development or change in Zeus, was actually envisaged by the poet. However, for the sake of argument, let us concede that it is incredible; what conclusion follows? Simply this, that Aeschylus failed in his intention, even as Milton failed to justify the ways of God to Man.

To sum up. It is suggested that Zeus was not the Devil; that Prometheus is not in any way at fault; that, since the opposition between absolute good and absolute evil is not a tragic theme, and since the trilogy probably was tragic, we should look for the real source of the tragedy in some such relation between the protagonists as the one proposed above. At the beginning of the play we find that Zeus (speaking crudely) has power but not intelligence; Prometheus has intelligence but not power; mankind has neither. The intelligence of Prometheus gives the victory to Zeus, and creates civilisation among men. I cannot but feel that in the slow coalition of Power and Intelligence, typified in the reconciliation of Prometheus and Zeus (foreshadowed by Aeschylus), lies the kernel of the trilogy.<sup>6</sup> Be that as it may, most of us, not believing that either the poet or his audience was held spellbound by any definitive 'Zeus,' would like to see the gradual evolution of mankind's Zeus as at least a leading theme in the whole work. Where is the fatal obstacle? Here; 'Griechisch ist solche Vorstellung . . . nicht'; 'This moral evolution of the High God was never believed in by any who believed in the God at all.' That is to say, the fatal objection is imposed on the play from the outside.

Here, apart from the merits of this particular case, we meet the wider question which was mentioned at the outset. Dr. Farnell's criticism is specialist criticism, and I suggest that the major difficulties that make his paradox are directly attributable to this fact. The *Prometheus* is a play, and if you treat it as a document in Comparative Religion it will not

\* This notion, I think, makes Prometheus' anthropological speeches more significant to the trilogy.



work. Dr. Farnell was, in my experience of these matters, unique among specialist-critics in that he admitted that it does not work. The whole question of the relationship between literature and the newer specialist studies stands in need of consideration. Tragedy happens to have suffered badly from the ministrations of specialists in a dozen different subjects. The consecrated metaphor is that of throwing light upon it, but unfortunately this light proceeds from a fixed source, and that, often, the wrong one. Dr. Farnell points out that Professor Murray's rays lend to the image here a queer distortion; that German school on which both Dr. Farnell and Mr. Thomson have said things that needed saying, triumphantly illuminates the void. The Criticism of Literature is the function of Literary Criticism. Its rays, and its only, are trained directly upon the object. Pure Literary Criticism has, however, both here and in Germany, grown somewhat *démodé*; but Tragedy, and all literature, will continue to suffer until it is recognised that, in its own sphere, Criticism is architectonic. This is not to decry specialism, or to suggest that it has nothing to say to literature. If some part of a literary work happens to face a searchlight, Criticism will see the better—only it should not countenance any shifting of the object. Drama is to be criticised solely as drama; a poet as a poet. Let it be demonstrated that the poet was primarily interested in a given subject, that this interest, for the moment at least, dominated his art; then the words of the specialist in this subject are decisive. But if the poet is working as an artist, from his whole mind, then surely the final judgment remains with Literary Criticism. Dr. Farnell laments that there should be scholars working on the Classics who are devoid of literary sense. It is a pity, but there it is. And after all, why should a numismatist, as such, have a literary sense? The literary critic is not expected to have a flair for the attribution of a statue to its proper source. New conditions bring new needs, and the need here, I think, is to recognise the function of Criticism. In its own sphere it has the last word, and if our numismatist should be interested in a purely literary work, it is the business of Criticism to give him his raw material, not vice versa. Literary Criticism, certainly, is not an exact science, but that does not alter the fundamental principle. There must be co-operation, but there must also be understanding.

H. D. F. KITTO.



## THE REPRESENTATION OF THE CHIMAERA

ἡ δὲ Χίμαιραν ἔτικτε πνέουσαν ἀμαιμάκετον πῦρ,  
 δεινὴν τε μεγάλην τε ποδώκεά τε κρατερὴν τε.  
 τῆς δ' ἦν τρεῖς κεφαλαί, μία μὲν χαροποῖο λέοντος  
 ἡ δὲ χιμαίρης, ἡ δ' ὄφις κρατεροῖο δράκοντος.

Of the children Echidna bore to Typhon the Chimaera was certainly the most illogical. She might even be considered as the very strangest among all the fantastical beings orientalising art in Greece liked to represent. For though she was called the goat, yet she stands before us as a lion, and the only thing there is of a goat about her is a head, that grows like a parasite out of the lion's back, and, in most cases, looks piteous rather than terrific.<sup>1</sup> Even the later addition of a pair of forefeet<sup>2</sup> cannot contribute to making her look formidable. We are told that she has a mighty weapon: the fiery flames she can eject from her mouth. Yet perched as she is, it is not easy for her to make use of this weapon; she will have to manœuvre very skilfully in order not to harm the lion, whose head will always come between her and the enemy they are confronting. Of course we can attribute the same weapon to the lion also, but suppose this animal is a terrible πύρπινοος λέαινα,<sup>3</sup> as it is sometimes represented, what is then the use of the goat's head, that looks so strange and can do so little? If, on the contrary, it is only the goat that spits fire, what is the use of the lion, that must hinder her more often than help her? To the eye the image is as objectionable as to the mind, for the wings of boars and horses, the human features of lions and birds, look quite natural beside an inorganic head, that rises from an animal's back.

Many have already felt that such a monster could not be of pure Greek origin and that it required an explanation. Now the whole story of Bellerophon and the Chimaera was placed in Lycia by the Greeks themselves, and Malten has pointed out in his able article upon this subject<sup>4</sup> that indeed the hero, his mount and the Chimaera herself cannot have originated elsewhere than in that corner of Asia Minor. But it is not from there that the image comes, as far as we can see. For when we find Chimaeras represented in Lycia, they are in reality Greek Chimaeras: it was not the native art that created them. So we shall have to look elsewhere to find out from where the Greeks derived the animal, which seemed to them a fit illustration of a Lycian myth that had become popular in their country.

<sup>1</sup> This difficulty was already felt in antiquity; *vide* Scholia Twt.B. on *Iliad*, 2. 181.

<sup>2</sup> As, for instance, on the coins of Sicily.

<sup>3</sup> Eurip. *Electra* 474.

<sup>4</sup> Malten, *Bellerophon*, in *Jdl.*, 1925, pp. 121 seqq.



The first explanation was that of Milchhöfer:<sup>5</sup> Minoan seals sometimes shewed two animals of which the one was partially hidden behind the other, so that only his head and his legs shewed. If the artist out of carelessness omitted the legs, as may happen, we had something like the Chimaera. This looked plausible at first,<sup>6</sup> but later on it became difficult to believe that archaic art in Greece and in Etruria could have been influenced by some few products of an industry which had already ceased to exist many centuries ago.

Then the lion whose tail ended in a serpent's head was discovered in archaic art,<sup>7</sup> and analogies to it were found on Hittite monuments.<sup>8</sup> This was something, but it did not bring us very far; for the head of the serpent, mentioned, it is true, both by Homer and Hesiod, was a detail that is often omitted altogether by Greek as well as by Etruscan artists. It was the goat's head that was the great mystery. Now there is on a protocorinthian vase<sup>9</sup> one curious analogy to the Chimaera. This is a lion, carrying a human head upon its back (fig. 1). Some archaeologists thought they could explain this fantastic being by comparing it with Hittite sphinxes from Sinjerli, which carry upon their breast a head of a



FIG. 1.—FROM A PROTCORINTHIAN VASE IN BOSTON.

lion, cut off just behind the ears.<sup>10</sup> Here we also have one being with two different heads, which have only to change their places to become something like fig. 1. This is an explanation we might accept. We must keep in mind, however, that this lion is not an isolated Greek fantasy or a misunderstanding of a well-known Oriental motive, but that it must be an invention of Asiatic origin, for similar lions with human heads appear on early Etruscan gold ornaments.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, the change the sphinx had to undergo in order to become fig. 1 was in reality greater than it may seem at the first glance: the lion's head which the sphinx carries like an awe-inspiring gorgoneion on her breast must become the principal head of the monster, whereas the human head is placed in the secondary position. Yet, as I say, we might accept this for want of a better explanation.

But even those who ventured this hypothesis did not seem to be very enthusiastic about it. So I think there is still room for another that does

<sup>5</sup> Milchhöfer, *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 82.

<sup>6</sup> Furtwängler, *Gemmen*, II, p. 19; III, p. 72; Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, p. 124; Morin-Jean, *Le Dessin des Animaux*, p. 46.

<sup>7</sup> Poulsen, *Oriente*, p. 107; cf. *BSA.*, 1906-7,

p. 114.

<sup>8</sup> *Jdl.*, 1925, p. 133, Abb. 12.

<sup>9</sup> *AJA.* 1900, pl. V; Fairbanks, *Boston Cat.* 397.

<sup>10</sup> Poulsen, *Oriente*, p. 107; *Jdl.*, 1925, p. 134.

<sup>11</sup> Randall-MacIver, *Villanovan*, p. 216.



not require such changes from one type into another. In this case Etruscan art can help us. Beside the common type of Chimaera we find in Etruria another one, in which the lion has wings that end in the head of a goat. Fig. 2 gives the rough image as it appears very often on vases of bucchero



FIG. 2.—FROM AN ETRUSCAN VASE IN BRUSSELS.



FIG. 3.—FROM A GOLD FIBULA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



FIG. 4.—FROM A PROTO-CORINTHIAN VASE.



FIG. 5.—RELIEF IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



FIG. 6.—BRONZE FROM LURBAN.



FIG. 7.—GOLD SPINX, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

nero.<sup>12</sup> Fig. 3, from a gold fibula,<sup>13</sup> shows more clearly that a wing instead of a neck was meant. This kind of Chimaera, though in no wise more logical than the first, has at any rate the advantage of being more decorative and pleasing to the eye. Whether it was also known in Greece I am

<sup>12</sup> Brussels, Musée du Cinquantenaire, A 316.

<sup>13</sup> *B.M. Jewellery*, pl. XIX, 1390.



not quite sure; perhaps fig. 4, from a protocorinthian vase,<sup>14</sup> is a reminiscence of it, for from the shoulder of the lion two lines curve towards a minuscule goat's head. Now which of the two was the original type? The winged Chimaera certainly was no Etruscan derivation of a wingless Greek original, for in Oriental art we have the same composition of an animal carrying a second head on its wing-top. I found several instances of this: the first is given in fig. 5, a fragment of a relief in stone, the provenance of which is unknown.<sup>15</sup> The second (fig. 6) is the cheek plaque of a bit from Luristan.<sup>16</sup> Another Luristan monster, an ibex out of the end of whose back rises a horned human head,<sup>17</sup> recalls the lion of fig. 1 and may be a degeneration of the same motive. The third (fig. 7) is a sphinx, supporting on her wing the head of a griffin. She forms the centre of an openwork disc belonging to the treasure of the Oxus.<sup>18</sup> A fourth example occurs on a late Assyrian cylinder: a centaur, the top of whose wing is formed by an eagle-griffin's head, points an arrow at a flying ibex.<sup>19</sup> I think the Greeks, having become acquainted with a similar fantasy, a lion whose wing ended in the head of a goat—we see from the examples given that there were many variants both in the principal figures and in the additional heads—accepted it as an image of the terrible goat from the myth for which they thought an ordinary representation of the animal in question was inadequate. And while the Etruscans generally kept to the winged type, the Greeks changed the wing into a neck, which seemed more natural to them. Unless, as is also possible, they were inspired by the wingless Oriental examples which, as we have seen, existed beside the other type in Luristan.

The animal whose wing was topped by a head did not die in the Orient after having given birth to the Greek Chimaera, for in Romanesque art it appears again, to bear witness to the longevity of Oriental fantasies.<sup>20</sup>

In one respect this discovery is remarkable. We are accustomed to see a certain number of analogies between Achaemenid and Greek archaic art. Classical archaeology has a good explanation for them: a Greek artist is known to have worked in Persia, and many Greeks had been planted over on Persian soil. Therefore all points of resemblance must be due to Greek influence. To take an example: we have Persian specimens of the well-known rhyton that terminates in the forepart of an animal.<sup>21</sup> No scholar seems to have a doubt about the Greek origin of the type, although one lets it voyage eastward earlier than the other.<sup>22</sup> But what are we to believe in this case, in which an ornamental motive appears to be very well at home in Persia, whereas the one Greek example of it is rather doubtful? Are we really to believe in an Etruscan artist

<sup>14</sup> Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 41.

<sup>15</sup> British Museum: *invent.* 118767; by courtesy of the Trustees.

<sup>16</sup> Godard, *Les Bronzes du Luristan*, pl. XLI, 167.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.* pl. XXXII, 115.

<sup>18</sup> Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, pl. XI, 26.

<sup>19</sup> *Cat. of the Soudash Coll.* II, pl. VIII, Qc 28.

<sup>20</sup> Martin, *L'art roman en France*, pls. XLIII,

XLVI. For an Islamic example see Sarre, *Kunst d. a. Persien*, pl. 140.

<sup>21</sup> See for inst. Dalton, *Treasure of the Oxus*, pl. XXII; Smirnov, *Argent. orient.* pl. IV, 15.

<sup>22</sup> Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 43: It (the rhyton) was popular within the limits influenced by Greek and Hellenistic culture; Syria, 1931, p. 292: La forme des rhytons passà de l'Égée en Perse.



who exercised the same profound and lasting influence as his Greek colleagues? Or may we accept here a Persian influence on Orientalising art in Europe? Our belief that Greek archaic art with regard to Persia always was the giver possibly often is the result of our imperfect knowledge. To take again the case of the rhyton: at Nihawand Herzfeld found one in the shape of a cow's head, that looks like a replica of many Greek and Italian specimens, but whose painted decoration denotes the bronze age;<sup>23</sup> whereas the legs of a bitumen tripod found at Susa in a grave dating from the third millennium B.C. already shew the form of the other type of rhyton, that terminates in the forepart of a crouching animal.<sup>24</sup> Neither does the general theory hold here. To all appearance the monster whose wing ends in another animal's head was of Iranian origin, and once knowing this we may well ask whether it was the only one of its kind that was taken over by Orientalising art.

I have still a few words to say about a recent discovery which bears upon our subject. A short time ago Persson published some glass plaques, found by him at Dendra.<sup>25</sup> They shew two different designs; the one, explained as Europa on her bull, need not trouble us here, but the other is of importance to us. A plaque, which unfortunately is in a bad state of preservation, is said by Persson to depict the classical Chimaera and Bellerophon: 'a lion advances slowly towards the right and it looks as if a goat's head were growing out of its back; the tail, which curves up in an arch, is unusually long; in front of it is seen a man who appears to be backing away.' Both von Wilamowitz<sup>26</sup> and Nilsson<sup>27</sup> eagerly took up the author's view, that indeed we had to do with a Mycenaean representation of a classical myth. Perhaps if they had given another look at the photographs of the object in question,<sup>28</sup> some doubt might have arisen in their minds whether Persson's explanation of the image was right. For myself, I have never been able to see the plaque otherwise than I have drawn it in fig. 8: the so-called goat's head is in reality the hindquarters of a jumping goat, whose forefeet just touch the earth. Analogous compositions of a lion and its prey occur more than once in Mycenaean and Minoan art.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> *Ill. London News*, June 1, p. 915, figs. 22, 23.

<sup>24</sup> Contenau, *Manuel d'arch. orient.* II, p. 307, fig. 365.

<sup>25</sup> Persson, *The Royal Tombs at Dendra*, 1931, pp. 64 f.

<sup>26</sup> Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, I, pp. 121 f.

<sup>27</sup> Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*, p. 33.

<sup>28</sup> Persson, *op. cit.* p. 67b, fig. 44, and pl. XXVI.

<sup>29</sup> Furtwängler, *Gemmen*, III, 7; Bousset, *Alt. Kreta*, fig. 216.



FIG. 8.—GLASS PLAQUE FROM DENDRA.



## THE NEW DATING OF THE CHREMONIDEAN WAR

THIS war, in which Antigonos was faced by the triple alliance of Egypt, Athens, and Sparta with her allies, started with the decree<sup>1</sup> moved by Chremonides in August–September of the year of the archon Peithidemos at Athens; the actual military operations began in the following spring. Peithidemos' year used to be put in 266/5; I gave my reasons in 1920 for putting it in 267/6,<sup>2</sup> as had already been done by Professor A. C. Johnson. Recently Professor Dinsmoor<sup>3</sup> has put Peithidemos in 270/69; the archon himself is a mere name and the tribe of his secretary unknown. Dinsmoor was trying to keep the tribal rotation undisturbed, and to effect this he shifted the archons Menekles and Nikias of Otryne (Nikias II) forward to 269/8 and 268/7; and as their years were war years he took these years to be part of the Chremonidean war and therefore put Peithidemos in 270/69. Subsequently Professor Ferguson<sup>4</sup> followed Dinsmoor as to this; but he now puts Peithidemos in 267/6, for reasons different from mine, though he still retains Menekles and Nikias II in 269/8 and 268/7.<sup>4a</sup> Dinsmoor's proposal to antedate the beginning of the Chremonidean war by three years is so drastic that it needs careful examination; and before considering the archons in question I may briefly indicate some of the historical difficulties of the new view.

First, Areus. He was killed in the campaigning season (summer) of 265;<sup>5</sup> whether the day of his death actually fell in the Athenian year 266/5 or in 265/4 is immaterial. He had had one fruitless campaigning season,<sup>6</sup> having come north and gone home again without fighting, which means that he could not pass Antigonos' (i.e. Craterus') lines across the Isthmus of Corinth; and Pausanias' statement of fact is not invalidated by the remark he puts into the mouth of the Egyptian nauarch Patroclus.<sup>7</sup> It is obvious that Areus must have made some move during the first campaigning season of the war; if that season was 269, he cannot have waited to move till 266. But if his fruitless campaign was in 269 and he was killed in 265 (a date which is independent of the Athenian archon list), what about the three intervening years? He did not lead his allies up to Craterus' lines and back again each year for four years; no Pelopon-

<sup>1</sup> IG<sup>2</sup>. II, 686 + 687 add. = Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 434/5.

<sup>2</sup> JHS. XL, 1920, p. 150.

<sup>3</sup> W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, 1931.

<sup>4</sup> W. S. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles in the Hellenistic Age*, 1932.

<sup>4a</sup> In an article appearing in *AJPh.* for July 1934, the draft of which he kindly sent me to read. My own paper had already gone to press.

<sup>5</sup> E. Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, II, pp. 310 sqq.; Tarn, *JHS.* 1920, p. 130.

<sup>6</sup> Pausanias III, 6, 4–6; Justin XXVI, 1, 7.

<sup>7</sup> That he could not attack Antigonos on land because his men were Egyptians and sailors. What he would really have landed would have been his troops, the mercenaries on board. P. Roussel, *La Grèce et l'Orient*, 1928, p. 415, suggests that he had no troops. But if *SEG.* II, 161 really belongs to the Chremonidean War (Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* IV, li, p. 503), Ptolemy must have played a larger part in it than we know of.



nesian alliance would have held together. And if he stayed at home for three years, how came he to collect his allies and go north in 265, just when Antigonus wanted him? We are landed in an absurd situation.

Next, Antigonus. If there was one thing which the earlier rulers of Macedonian blood did understand, it was the first principles of war;<sup>8</sup> and the first principle of all, I believe, is to seek out and destroy the principal armed force of the enemy,—in this case the Spartans. Antigonus had to do the seeking, for he could pass Craterus' lines and Areus could not; yet (*ex hypothesi*) it was not till the *fifth* campaigning season of the war that he sought to bring Areus to action. I do not envisage any Macedonian king making war like that against an enemy whom he was fairly certain of defeating in a pitched battle. In the tradition, Antigonus, like Areus, has one fruitless campaigning season; his Gauls mutiny, and it needs a considerable battle to destroy them.<sup>9</sup> The two fruitless seasons must coincide, for Antigonus' embarrassment was the reason why Areus had no fighting; and it cannot be doubtful that this was the first season of the war, *ex hypothesi* 269. Antigonus then proceeds to spend three years doing nothing; during this time his enemies, who were the attacking side, kindly left him alone, so that at the end of the time he was able to come back and completely defeat them. It does not sound very probable. Dinsmoor does not consider this long delay at all. Ferguson has said<sup>10</sup> that the chronology of the war *can* be worked out on the assumption that Chremonides' decree was in 270; but the only hint he gives of how to do it is to say that the mutiny of the Gauls and the invasion of Macedonia by Alexander of Epirus gave Athens a respite. The mutiny would paralyse Antigonus for one season, *ex hypothesi* 269; but it only meant recruiting more mercenaries and perhaps calling up more Macedonians, and he would have been ready again by 268. Alexander was driven out of Macedonia by an army commanded by the crown prince Demetrius;<sup>11</sup> even if his command was nominal, he had to share the hardships of the campaign. The earliest possible date for his birth is autumn 276, so that in spring 266 he was only 9½ (or less), in spring 268 only 7½. Alexander's intervention cannot then be used to fill the gap; it is possible in 263, but not in 268–6. The year 270 for Chremonides' decree creates no less difficulty from the side of Antigonus than from that of Areus.

Worse still are the difficulties from the side of Egypt. She must have sent her fleet the first season of the war, *ex hypothesi* 269, or what was she there for? It was commanded by Patroclus; the name of his base, 'Patroclus' camp,' was remembered for centuries.<sup>12</sup> And Patroclus was certainly nauarch, as Pausanias says, because no one but the nauarch could be in command of the main Egyptian fleet. When did he become nauarch? Arsinoë II died in July 270, and Callicrates was nauarch for long enough after her death to build, dedicate, and open, *as nauarch*, his temple

<sup>8</sup> Tarn, *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments*, pp. 43 *seqq.*

<sup>9</sup> Trogus, *Prol.* XXVI; Justin XXVI, 2, 1–7.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 74, n. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Justin XXVI, 2, 11. Looking at Trogus' care

over kings' names (Tarn, *JHS.* 1909, p. 265), it cannot be supposed that Demetrius the Fair is meant.

<sup>12</sup> Strabo VIII, 398; Paus. I, 1, 1; Steph. s.v. Πατρόκλου νησος.



at Zephyrion to her as Arsinoë Aphrodite.<sup>13</sup> A new nauarch, with a great war beginning, would have to take command some time before navigation opened in March, so as to get acquainted with things; at the outside, Callicrates would have had only some six months to plan, build, and open that temple, all the stone having to be imported. Others must say if this be possible; I do not find it easy of belief. Again, Callicrates had been extremely successful and was much honoured; why should Ptolemy make a change with a great war impending? If the change was made in winter 267/6, I have suggested a reason elsewhere which at any rate is feasible;<sup>14</sup> in winter 270/69 no reason can be found. It is not credible that Patroclus led Egypt's fleet to Attica in spring 269.

These are some obvious difficulties of the new theory; none of them arise if Chremonides' decree was passed in 267. Dinsmoor gives three reasons for the new belief, which must now be examined: (a) Pausanias says that it was a very long war;<sup>15</sup> (b) it was Arsinoë's war and must therefore have begun as near her death (July 270) as possible;<sup>16</sup> and (c) the tribal rotation demands that the archons Menekles and Nikias II should be placed in the years 269/8 and 268/7.

Of these reasons, the first is merely a mistake. Pausanias does not say that the war lasted *ἐν μακρότατον*; he says that *Athens held out ἐν μακρότατον*, a very different thing;<sup>17</sup> when Antigonos formed the siege of the city, the siege lasted 'a very long time.' Pausanias here probably goes back, through whatever intermediaries, to Phylarchus, for no one else is known in the third century who wrote on the Chremonidean war; and the question is, what would 'a very long siege' mean to a Hellenistic historian of Phylarchus' day? The sieges he would naturally think of were Macedonian sieges, conducted with all the resources of engineering science, short and sharp; whether the city were taken or not, they did not tie up their operations by long blockades. Even Demetrius' siege of Athens itself can hardly have lasted a year, and indeed between Alexander's accession and Phylarchus' day I can only recall one siege which did last as long as a year; Antigonos I took fifteen months to reduce Tyre, but Tyre on its island was in a very special position (even Alexander had taken seven months) and he may have had to blockade it.<sup>18</sup> Looking at Gonatas' relations with Athens, he would certainly want Athens itself and not a desert, and therefore he presumably blockaded it, as Pausanias says,<sup>19</sup> and did not try to storm it with siege operations; if Athens held out over a year, Pausanias' phrase would be fully justified.

As to the second reason: I myself believe that it was Arsinoë's war, but hardly in the sense of Chremonides' decree. Arsinoë was not interested in the freedom of Greece; what she wanted, apparently, was the crown

<sup>13</sup> Tarn, *JHS*, LIII, 1933, p. 67, n. 90 (fully discussed).

<sup>14</sup> *Id.* pp. 56-59.

<sup>15</sup> Dinsmoor, *op. cit.* p. 81. So also Ferguson, *op. cit.* p. 74.

<sup>16</sup> Dinsmoor, p. 81.

<sup>17</sup> Paus. III, 6, 3-6, *παραθήμενον* ἢ Ἀρσινόου τοῖς Ἀθηναῖς . . . τοῖς ἢ Ἀθηναῖς ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἐν

*μακρότατον*. Correctly given by W. Kolbe, *Die attischen Archonten*, 1908, p. 39; Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 306; Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* IV, ii, p. 503.

<sup>18</sup> The Roman siege of Syracuse, which was partly a blockade, took two years, 214-12; but Phylarchus might have written before this.

<sup>19</sup> Paus. III, 6, 5, *παραθήμενον*.



of Macedonia for her son Ptolemaeus.<sup>20</sup> Once she was dead, this policy might not greatly interest Ptolemy II; and as on any hypothesis the war did not begin till after her death, the amount of delay, conditioned by circumstances unknown to us, is immaterial. But what Chremonides actually did say was that Ptolemy II was 'following the policy of his forefathers' (*i.e.* Ptolemy I) and his sister<sup>21</sup> and seeking to free Greece. Ptolemy I in 288 had helped Athens to freedom against Demetrius, as doubtless Arsinoë meant to help her against Demetrius' son, but neither cared about Athens itself; Ptolemy I only wanted to safeguard himself and make acquisitions at Demetrius' expense, Arsinoë only wanted Macedonia for her son and meant to use Athens and Sparta as her tools. One cannot deduce from this that the decree would be more in place in 270 than in 267; in either year Ptolemy I had long been dead, yet Egypt's policy is attributed to him no less than to Arsinoë.

The real matter, one may suppose, is the archon list. Peithidemos can be assigned to 267/6 without interfering with Dinsmoor's scheme; for though Dinsmoor assigned Hagnias to this year, with a query, this carries no historical material with it and depends upon such a complicated structure of assumptions that Ferguson has already rejected it and placed Hagnias among the archons whose date is unknown. But what needs consideration is the placing of Menekles and Nikias II. Formerly, like many others, I put these archons in 283/2 and 282/1, but this was always open to two objections; it creates yet another war besides those known to the literary tradition, and it disturbs the tribal rotation as from Diokles (the fall of Demetrius) in 288/7. For now that Dinsmoor has placed Diokles in 288/7, the date for which Beloch, Johnson, and myself have always contended, and now that both Ferguson (*op. cit.*) and J. Kirchner<sup>22</sup> have ended a long debate by accepting that view, it may be taken that the four archons of 288/7 to 285/4—Diokles, Diotimos, Isaïos, Euthios—are, on our present materials, almost certain;<sup>23</sup> and as they go in tribal rotation this should apply to the whole cycle which began in 291/0. Now on the rotation the only places for Menekles (XI) and Nikias II (XII) are the years 281/0 and 280/79, where Beloch and Johnson<sup>24</sup> put them; and Kirchner (*loc. cit.*) has now taken the same view, as being necessitated by his adhesion to 288/7 for Diokles. I had already thought that this was what would have to be, and I hope to shew good reason for it. My ground (and that of others) for not accepting these dates before was the belief that Gorgias was fixed to 280/79 by the literary tradition; but there was always the alternative date which Beloch adopted, 284/3, though it depends only upon a single MS.; this I must now accept, for the reasons for giving 280/79 to Nikias II (*post*) seem to me compelling.

I now turn to the inscriptions, as they must decide the dating of these two archons; but before I do so, two things can be set aside. Dinsmoor

<sup>20</sup> Tarn, *CAH*. VII, pp. 705-6.

<sup>21</sup> *IG*<sup>2</sup>. II, 687, line 16: δ τῆ βασιλίδι Πτολεμαίου ἀπολούφως τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῇ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐπιουσίᾳ.

<sup>22</sup> *Gnomon*, 1932, p. 449, reviewing Dinsmoor.

<sup>23</sup> W. Kolbe, however, *Gött. Nachrichten*, 1933, pp. 481, 489, still prefers 287/6 for Diokles.

<sup>24</sup> *Glass. Phil.* IX, 1914, p. 248.



(p. 82) has shewn that, in the decree for Phaedrus, his civil and military careers are treated separately, and that consequently his career furnishes no argument for an earlier date than 268/7 for Nikias II; so Phaedrus' career may drop out of the discussion. On the other hand, Dinsmoor's argument (p. 84) from the career of Hermodorus of Acharnae is not valid. He argues that, as Hermodorus was *paidotribes* in Menekles' year (*IG*<sup>2</sup>. II, 665) and also in 249,<sup>25</sup> he would, if Menekles be placed in 281/0, have held office for thirty-three years, which is 'difficult to believe.' But the office was hereditary in Hermodorus' family; and there is a later instance of a *paidotribes*, Abaskantos, who held office for life and is mentioned in A.D. 136/7 and again in 169/70; that is, he is known to have held office for thirty-four years at least.<sup>26</sup> I might also quote Sosibius, the minister of Ptolemy IV, who held high office, first as dioecetes and then as vizier, for at least forty years.<sup>27</sup> So Hermodorus, like Phaedrus, drops out of the discussion.

To come to the inscriptions. Taking *IG*<sup>2</sup>. II, 662-3 as Diokles, not Menekles, we have three decrees of the year of Menekles, *IG*<sup>2</sup>. II, 661 (Ditt.<sup>3</sup> 384), 664, and 1272 (Ditt.<sup>3</sup> 947), and three of the year of Nikias II, *IG*<sup>2</sup>. II, 665 (Ditt.<sup>3</sup> 385), 666-7 (Ditt.<sup>3</sup> 386-7) and 668 (Ditt.<sup>3</sup> 388). The former set give no historical information, except (1272) that Athens had a garrison in Eleusis; this suits 281/0 well enough, for Demochares had retaken Eleusis in the war of 288-5, but suits many other years also. But all the decrees of Nikias' year are instructive. I pass over 668 for the moment, and take 665, a decree in honour of the ephebes of Menekles' year, the schedule shewing that they were about thirty in number. This decree says that there was war (or war broke out) in Menekles' year—πολέμου κατέχοντος τὴν πόλιν—and that the ephebes completed the year on garrison duty (which was a normal part of their training), and in particular on garrison duty in the Museum fort, εἰς τὴν τοῦ Μ[ουσ]είου φυλακὴν. This fort was inside the city wall, but occupied an angle of that wall toward Peiraeus, so that the garrison also held a section of the wall. Had the year been 269/8 (*i.e.* campaigning season of 268), when *ex hypothesi* Antigonos and the Macedonian army were either before Athens or not far away, and Piraeus (*post*) was Macedonian, this important point could never have been entrusted to thirty lads doing their training; in 280, as we shall see, it would have been natural enough.

Very important is the decree 666-7 (two copies), which grants Athenian citizenship to Strombichos, a captain of mercenaries, for his services to Athens.<sup>28</sup> The recital in the decree begins by saying that πρότερον—at

<sup>25</sup> The inscriptions relating to the Hermodorus family are conveniently set out by Ferguson, *op. cit.* pp. 104-5. Dinsmoor (p. 84) puts the last appearance of Hermodorus in Polyenkios' year, *IG*<sup>2</sup>. II, 684, which he calls 249/8; it is, I think, really 255/4 (so Flacelière and Ferguson). Ferguson puts his last appearance in Philameas' year, *IG*<sup>2</sup>. II, 766, which he provisionally makes 241/0, though (p. 105) he regards this date as entirely uncertain (256/5 Dinsmoor, 268/7 Kolbe, *Gitt. Nachr.* 1933, p. 511).—See now Kolbe's explanation of Hermo-

dorus, *ib.* p. 305, and Kirchner's note thereon, p. 312. Kolbe's article only reached me just as mine was going to press.

<sup>26</sup> *IG*<sup>2</sup>. II, 2086 l. 115 and 2097; see Kirchner, *Gnomon*, 1932, p. 453, and Dinsmoor, p. 94.

<sup>27</sup> Tarn, *JHS.* 1933, p. 66.

<sup>28</sup> Kolbe, *op. cit.* p. 506, also points out that this decree means that Menekles and Nikias II must be shifted back, but his dates for them are 262/1 and 281/0.



some past time—he had been in Demetrius' service and had been left by him in Athens [as part of the garrison], and that when the city took up arms for its freedom he came over to the Athenians with his mercenaries and stood by the city, and moreover helped them to besiege the Museum fort (συνεπολιόρκει δὲ καὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον μετὰ τοῦ δήμου). So far we have the revolt against Demetrius in 288, the subsequent war, and Olympiodorus' capture of the Museum fort; this war ended soon after Demetrius' surrender to Seleucus—it was going on in Isaios' year,<sup>29</sup> 286/5, but not in that of Euthios, 285/4. The recital continues that, the city having done its business (συντελεσθέντων τεῖ πόλει τῶν πραγμάτων),—that is, secured its freedom and made peace with Antigonos—Strombichos continued to live there, in the good-will of the people. We then come to another war: καὶ τοῦ πολέμου γενομένου ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἦν περὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἀγωνιζόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐποίησεν ὅσα παραγγέλλοι ὁ στρατηγός. Having had πρότερον before, we might expect νῦν to follow; as it does not, its absence, and the aorist ἐποίησεν, *might* shew that this war was over, though this is by no means necessary. At the same time, it is called τοῦ πολέμου (definite article); whether over or not, it was at any rate present to the mind of the mover of the decree and his hearers as very recent, and as the *only* war (that is the point of τοῦ) which there had been since the war of 288–5. The recital then ends by saying that for the future Strombichos promises χρεῖας παρέξομαι τῷ δήμῳ, 'to do his job,' an indefinite phrase equally suitable to peace or war.

As I see it, the words τοῦ πολέμου γενομένου make it impossible for this decree to belong to 268/7; for there was a war between Athens and Antigonos in 280<sup>30</sup> (at the moment this is an assumption only, but I am going to prove it presently), and it is impossible that a decree passed during the Chremonidean war could, after referring to the war of 288–5, proceed to refer to the Chremonidean war in this way without any word or phrase to distinguish it from the intermediate war of 280; τοῦ πολέμου, thus used, can only mean the war which came next after that of 288–5. Dinsmoor was not very happy in his treatment of this decree. He first said (p. 83), 'We have not the slightest evidence of Macedonian domination over Athens between 288 and 263,' which, if we take 288 to mean the capture of the Museum fort in the war of 288–5, is true enough; and then continued (p. 84), 'His (Strombichos') participation in the capture of the Museum is probably to be associated, not with the storming of the hill [read "fort"] by Olympiodoros, but with its occupation in the archonship of Menekles by the ephebes.' This can only mean, on his dating, that Antigonos had begun the Chremonidean war in 269 by taking Athens straight away and garrisoning the Museum fort, and that the Athenians had forthwith turned him out again and recaptured that fort and entrusted it to thirty boys, a view of events which I think need hardly be considered.

<sup>29</sup> Usener, *Episteme* 133, 112' (ὁμοῖα τοῦ ἐχθροῦ κατὰ [λ]ογισμὸν Μουσείου). See Tarn, *JHS*. 1920, p. 146.

<sup>30</sup> Opinion has been divided on the point. For

the most recent writers see note 36. Whether the war of 280–79 between Athens and Antigonos has any connexion with the war of 280–79 between Ptolemy II and Antiochus I must be left open.



It is perhaps unnecessary to add that Demetrius had built the Museum fort to hold Athens down, that he who held that fort held Athens, and that if Antigonus held it in 269 it would be that 'Macedonian domination' for which Dinsmoor had just said (rightly) that there was no evidence.

The words τοῦ πολέμου γενομένου of this decree refer, therefore, to the war of 280, and Menekles and Nikias II must go back to 281/0 and 280/79; and we must first see how they fit in with those years. In the war of 288-5 Athens had recaptured Eleusis and the Museum fort, but her attempt to recover Piraeus had failed; she made no secret, however, of her intention to recover it at the first opportunity.<sup>31</sup> Her delay until 280 probably meant that she hoped, not unreasonably, that Lysimachus would do it for her and save her the trouble; but with his death in July 281<sup>32</sup> she had to rely upon herself. Her chance came early in 280, when Antigonus attempted to invade Macedonia and was defeated at sea by Keraunos. On the news a number of Greek states, headed by Sparta, declared war upon him;<sup>33</sup> he returned to Boeotia, which joined the rising and forced him to retire to Demetrias; soon after—probably some time in 280<sup>34</sup>—he sailed for the Dardanelles (like Demetrius) to try his luck in Asia, abandoning Greece and leaving his garrisons and Craterus at Corinth to do the best they could. It was the lowest ebb of fortune he ever knew. As his only force was his mercenaries, he had probably drawn heavily on his garrisons, including Piraeus, for the expedition against Macedonia; Athens, who had also declared war on him after his defeat, must have attacked Piraeus at once, and Olympiodorus crowned his career with its capture. This skeleton outline, some of which remains to be considered, explains why at the end of 281/0, with Athens at war, the all-important Museum fort could nevertheless be garrisoned by some thirty boys; there was no chance of a surprise attack upon the city, with Piraeus in her hands on the south, Boeotia covering her on the north, and Antigonus about to abandon Greece and sail to Asia. No war year can be found later in which that fort could have been entrusted to such a garrison. The decree for Strombichos was passed in Poseideon (December-January) of 280/79; the colourless phrase which concludes the recital, equally applicable to peace or war, fits well enough with a time when Athens was still technically at war, but with an enemy who was far away in Asia. That winter, very early in 279, the Gauls broke into Macedonia and killed Keraunos; though they did not actually invade Greece till autumn 279, they must have been expected at any moment. The list of states who co-operated in the defence of Thermopylae, which included Antigonus, shews that in face of the Gallic danger there was a general peace, anyhow north of the Isthmus of Corinth, made at some time in 279. Here comes in the decree of Nikias' year which I deferred considering, *IG*<sup>2</sup>. II, 668, which records a

<sup>31</sup> *IG*<sup>2</sup>. II, 657 = *Ditt.*<sup>2</sup>. 374, l. 35.

<sup>32</sup> Cuneiform evidence (see Kailbe, *Syrische Beiträge*, pp. 12-14), conjoined with *Mitt.* I, 100-123, l. 37, shews that Seleucus died between 30 Nov. 281 and 1 Nisan (in March) 280; this fixes Corupedion to 281, not 282.

<sup>33</sup> *Justin* XXIV, 1, 2, says omnes ferme Graeciae civitates; which must include Athens, though some have doubted this.

<sup>34</sup> He is first heard of at the Dardanelles in spring 279; but there is no sign of his presence in Greece in the campaigning season of 280.



unique sacrifice at Athens for the safety of the crops in the field;<sup>35</sup> it cannot be earlier than the late spring of 279, when there *were* growing crops. Obviously it does not refer to Antigonus, who was at the Dardanelles; it is a prayer that the crops may be saved from the Gauls.

On my assumption, therefore, that there was a war between Athens and Antigonus in 280 and that in that year Athens recovered Piraeus,<sup>36</sup> Ménèkles and Nikias II fit the years 281/0 and 280/79, and in any case they do not fit the years 269/8 and 268/7; and it remains to prove my assumption of a war in 280, which goes to the root of the matter. There is a most important piece of evidence in regard to this which has never been noticed—I have twice overlooked it myself; but before coming to that I must note three things which have also to be borne in mind. One is the view consistently maintained by G. de Sanctis, that Athens never recovered Piraeus at all after Demetrius' time;<sup>37</sup> this involves discarding Pausanias' statement that Olympiodorus retook it,<sup>38</sup> which I cannot do, for the feat must have been famous. Another is Beloch's view that Olympiodorus did not retake it till 274-2;<sup>39</sup> apart from the difficulty of bringing Olympiodorus down so late, this does not explain why Athens neglected the splendid opportunity offered her in 280 of doing what her heart was set upon; Beloch adopted this date to suit his view of the date of Mithres' captivity, which is the third question to consider. With these points in mind, I turn to the evidence, drawn from Chremonides' decree, that Athens did retake Piraeus and retook it in 280.

This decree contains some abuse of Antigonus,<sup>40</sup> as was no doubt proper in a war resolution; but it also brings against him the definite charge that he had broken a treaty (σπονδῇ) or treaties.<sup>41</sup> To talk vaguely about wrongdoing and tyranny is one thing, but to say that a man has broken a treaty is quite another; and Chremonides must have had a definite instance in mind, and one which affected Athens. There might no doubt be two views about the incident in question; but some sort of *prima facie* case there must have been. Now the word σπονδῇ (or σπονδαί), associated with Antigonus, at once recalls a phrase in a fragment of Philodemus, περὶ τῶν Στοικῶν, which says that, after Lysimachus' death and

<sup>35</sup> "Εφ' ὅσιντι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου καὶ τῶν κληρῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ χύρῳ.

<sup>36</sup> Beloch once believed in Athens' recovery of Piraeus in 280 (IV, i, p. 246), but subsequently abandoned this date (IV, ii, p. 454). Of recent writers, M. Segre, *Annuario del R. Liceo Dante Alighieri di Brezzone*, 1928/9, p. 9, thinks that Athens probably recovered it between 280 and 277; Ferguson, *op. cit.* p. 72, following Segre, has specified 280/79, though he attributes Ménèkles and Nikias II to the Chremonidean war; H. Berve, *Griech. Geschichte*, II, 1933, p. 238 makes it 280. On the other hand, both Dinsmoor and M. Cary, *A History of the Greek World from 323 to 146 B.C.*, 1932, believe that there was no war between Athens and Antigonus in 280; and G. Corradi, *Studi Ellenistici*, 1929, p. 124, only gives it with a query.

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<sup>37</sup> *Contributi alla storia ateniese della guerra lamiaca alla guerra Chremonidea*, in Beloch's *Studi di storia antica*, II, p. 33, n. 3.; *RivSt.* LV, 1927, p. 495. He is followed by Corradi, *op. cit.* p. 106, n. 2; Cary, *op. cit.*, also believes this.

<sup>38</sup> Paus. I, 26, 3. Segre, *op. cit.* p. 6, suggests that Pausanias' ultimate source must have been a decree, perhaps coming through Polemon. Certainly the natural reading of this passage in Pausanias is that he had himself seen decrees at Athens in honour of Olympiodorus.

<sup>39</sup> *Griech. Gesch.* IV, ii, pp. 454, 607.

<sup>40</sup> Line 32, τοὺς ἡσυχάζοντας . . . τῆς πόλεως (wrongdoing); l. 15, τοὺς καταλοῦν ἐπιχειροῦντας τοῖς τιμίαις καὶ τῶν πατρίων ἡμετέρας πολιτείας (the usual phrase for tyranny). That these plurals mean Antigonus is not in doubt.

<sup>41</sup> Line 32, τοὺς παραπονεμένους τῆς πόλεως.



in the third year before the defeat of the Gauls at Lysimacheia (that is, *prima facie*, in 279), παρέχοντ' αἱ σπονδαὶ τῷ Γονατῷ.<sup>42</sup> Philodemus is only giving just those salient points of Gonatas' career which bear on the years of the archons Euthios (285/4) and Anaxikrates (fixed by literary evidence to 279/8); that fact, and the definite article, shew that these σπονδαὶ were a notorious event, and it seems that they can only be the treaties made in 279 between Antigonus and the Greek states with whom since 280 he was at war—that general peace which, as we saw, must have taken place in face of the threat of the Gauls. But Philodemus' wording is peculiar; he does not say that σπονδαὶ were made; he says 'the σπονδαὶ were granted to Gonatas.' Now if State A grant peace, or even a truce, to State B, State A is the victor; and in fact Andocides<sup>43</sup> had defined a σπονδῇ which concluded military operations as a treaty granted by the victors to the vanquished, in contradistinction to εἰρήνη, a peace ἐξ ἴσου. This, and the word παρέχοντο, shew, therefore, that Philodemus' source considered that the Greeks in 279 were the victors; and, as regards Athens, this can only mean that in 279 she had taken, and was in possession of, Piraeus. But a whole set of treaties concluded in a hurry by Greek states with the absent Antigonus, under the threat of the Gauls, can only have been concluded on the basis of everybody keeping what he had; and Athens must have regarded her treaty as confirming her possession of Piraeus. I shall return to this; for this was the treaty which Chremonides accused Antigonus of breaking.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> *P. Herc.* 339 col. V (text given in *Philod.* LXXI, p. 226): ἀνεστρέψαντες (αὐτῶν) τοῦ μὲν λουβαννῆ (τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ μετὰ τὴν λυσιπύχου τέλει(τὴν παρέχοντ') αἱ σπονδαὶ) (τῷ) Γονατῷ καὶ (Λακεδαιμονίῳ) ἐκρήσας τῇ Μακεδονίῳ ἔπειτα πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν κ.τ.λ.—Λακεδαιμονίῳ has been a crux. It has naturally nothing to do with Sparta; the meaning is that Gonatas, coming from the Dardanelles region, conquered (part of) Macedonia, naturally the eastern part,—this invasion is also mentioned in Memnon 14—and was then thrown out again and retired to Asia. (Johnson's suggestion Μακεδονίῳ made sense, but is not required.) Now the word can be detected at least twice again in the literature we have: Eusebius says (with a wrong date) that Gonatas conquered 'the Laedaemonians,' which is absolutely impossible (see my note 21 in *Antigonus Gonatas*, p. 121); and Stephanus says that an Alexandria (no. 3 of his list) was founded by Alexander, seventeen years before Alexandria in Egypt (the date of course is wrong), in Thrace πρὸς τῇ Λακεδαιμονίῳ—but Thrace did not adjoin Laedaemonia. It seems to follow that there must have been a district called Λακεδαιμονία in eastern Macedonia towards Thrace, and that Philodemus has correctly preserved the ethnic Λακεδαιμονίῳ, which is right in form for a people in or about Macedonia, cf. Κικονεῖς, Μύγδοες, Βιερτοεῖς, Πελαιγόνεῖς, Πιλόες, Μακεδόνες; but the two names fell into disuse—perhaps there were always alternatives—and, where they occurred, they tended to be confused with the well-known Ἀχαιοί and Ἀσσυριοί, so that

in late writers like Eusebius and Stephanus they became Λακεδαιμονεῖς and Λακεδαιμονία. It is a pity that Strabo's account of Macedonia is in fragments.

<sup>43</sup> *De Pace* 11.

<sup>44</sup> I formerly supposed, following Johnson, that the σπονδαὶ of Philodemus meant the cardinal treaty between Antigonus and Antiochus, which I therefore placed in 279 (*JHS.* 1920, p. 149; *CAH.* VII, p. 100); but there was always the difficulty that Memnon 18 made the war between them last χρόνον παρὸν, a considerable time, and I should have paid attention to the plural form σπονδαὶ and the word παρέχοντο. These, combined with Chremonides' decree, render my former view untenable; and as Chremonides' phrase is παραιοσπονδικῶς τὰς πόλεις (plural again), one may suppose that there were other cities besides Athens which regarded some action of Antigonus as a breach of *their* treaties with him. The Philodemus fragment therefore does not prove that the treaty between Antigonus and Antiochus was 279; I express no opinion here on its date, as I am not considering their war (the latest study is by Segre, *Athenaeum*, VIII, 1930, p. 486). But I still think that Aratus' hymn *Spondophori* celebrated Antigonus' treaty with Antiochus, for Aratus could hardly have managed to glorify Antigonus over the σπονδαὶ of 279; unless we like to suppose that Aratus wrote that hymn, not for Antigonus, but at Athens before he went to Pella.



Meanwhile there is another thing which bears out Athens' recovery of Piraeus in 280. I shewed long ago that Pausanias in Book X used a very good early source (whatever the accretions to it) for the Gallic invasion;<sup>45</sup> I did not include the short account in Book I, 4, 2-4, because (like most people) I supposed that he was wrong about the Athenian fleet.<sup>46</sup> But the fleet is also mentioned in Book X (22, 12), and I think now I was wrong to discard it; he is very explicit about its action—it took off the troops when the pass was turned and had great difficulty in doing so because of the shallow water and the mud—and this is certainly *not* an echo of Herodotus, where nothing of the sort happened. The reason why Pausanias has been considered wrong is that the decree Ditt<sup>3</sup>, 408 only mentions ἱππεῖς and ἐπιλακτοὶ as sent by Athens and does not mention the fleet; but I doubt whether the rule *expressio unius exclusio alterius* (which only applies where the thing is bound to be mentioned if it be meant) can be applied here in the case of the fleet, for in the passage in question the decree may still be quoting the Aetolian invitation, and the Aetolians were only concerned with the fighting on land; the expression used is συναγωνισμένους, 'those who fought at our side,' and the fleet had no fighting. But the real point is that without the fleet Athens' position would be incomprehensible. The supreme command at Thermopylae was given by the Greeks to the Athenian Callippus, and Athens must therefore have sent a considerable force; but while Boeotia sent 10,000 hoplites (her full levy) and 500 horse, and Aetolia at least 12,000 men, Athens sent only 1000 hoplites and 500 horse, though she was no less threatened than they and could easily have sent far more men than 1500—there were such things as mercenaries; and the explanation must be that, on land, she only sent her cavalry and a small picked body of hoplites because everyone else was on the fleet. That means that in 279 she held Piraeus.

Here I must consider the date of the captivity of Mithres, Lysimachus' finance minister;<sup>47</sup> for when Craterus made Mithres his prisoner and sent him to Piraeus, Piraeus was certainly in Antigonus' hands. The last possible year for the incident is 277, the year of Metrodorus' death; and Beloch thought that the year *was* 277, because of the mention in the papyrus of an Antipater whom he took to be Etesias, the pretender driven out of Macedonia by Antigonus in 276.<sup>48</sup> But if Antigonus lost Piraeus in 280, he cannot have recovered it by 277; he had no opportunity. The year of the Gauls, 279, is out of the question. So is 278; he was in Asia, got a footing in Macedonia,<sup>49</sup> was thrown out again, and retired to the Dardanelles. So is 277 itself; he defeated the Gauls at Lysimacheia and was accepted as king by the Macedonian army, but had still a whole

<sup>45</sup> Tarn, *Antigonus Gonatus*, App. VI.

<sup>46</sup> Wilamowitz, however, believed in the fleet: *Antigonus von Karpat*, p. 257.

<sup>47</sup> *P. Herc.* 1418, col. XXX<sup>a</sup> (XXIII<sup>b</sup>). See A. Vogliano, *RivFil.* LIV, 1926, p. 322, and LV, 1927, p. 501; J. Beloch, *ib.* LIV, p. 331; G. de Sanctis, *ib.* LV, p. 491; M. Segre, *op. cit.* of

1928/9.

<sup>48</sup> Beloch wrote on the assumption that Antigonus only lost Piraeus in 274-2; this assumption is negated by Chremonides accusing Antigonus of breaking a *σπονδή*, the only *σπονδή* known being that of 279.

<sup>49</sup> The Philoxenus fragment cited n. 42.



year's work in front of him before he could call himself master of Macedonia. On the other hand, de Sanctis was certainly right, as against Beloch, in saying that Mithres' captivity could have taken place at any time between Lysimachus' death (July 281) and 277; and, on the facts brought out in this paper, it seems clear that Mithres' flight to Corinth and his capture by Craterus happened *before* Athens recovered Piraeus in 280. He fled some time between July 281 and Keraunos' sea-fight with Antigonus in spring 280; whether it was Seleucus or Keraunos or Arsinoe whom he feared need not be discussed. But there is no need to discard, as did de Sanctis, Beloch's view that the Antipater of the papyrus was Etesias. When Lysimachus quitted Macedonia in spring 281 to fight his last battle he must have left someone to govern the country in his absence, and Antipater, nephew of his friend Cassander, was a likely enough choice; Segre (*op. cit.* p. 4) must be right in saying that Olympiodorus' relations with Antipater (in the papyrus) shew that he stood in Lysimachus' place. If he continued to govern the country *de facto* till Keraunos' arrival in 280, that would explain his pretensions to the crown after Keraunos' death. The Mithres incident then has no bearing on the date of Antigonus' re-capture of the Piraeus.

Athens then retook Piraeus in 280, which of course means a war with Antigonus in that year. But throughout the Chremonidean war Piraeus was in Antigonus' hands beyond question; for had Piraeus been Athenian at the beginning of the war Patroclus must have used it as his base (as Archelaus did in the Mithridatic war) and not a little island off Cape Sunium. Beloch indeed, holding that Piraeus was Athenian, put forward the view (apparently seriously) that Athens refused to admit Patroclus because that would have delivered her into the hands of Ptolemy;<sup>50</sup> the simple answer is that, had that been Athens' idea of alliance, Ptolemy would at once have withdrawn his fleet and left her to make of it what she could. Beloch added that Athens could not have fought Antigonus without Piraeus, an idea negatived by the war of 288-5, when the Egyptian captain Zeno provisioned Athens from one of the open roadsteads.<sup>51</sup> I may add that during the Chremonidean war the temple of Ammon in Piraeus was enlarged, its completion being celebrated in July-August 263,<sup>52</sup> when Athens herself was in great straits; Piraeus therefore had no part in Athens' troubles, that is, it was Macedonian. Antigonus then recovered Piraeus between 280 and 267. It has already been seen that the years 279, 278, and 277 were impossible. During 276 he was fully occupied with expelling the pretenders from Macedonia and recovering Cassandria and Thessaly; and it seems improbable, given his character and the amount of work to be done in Macedonia, that he should have made an unprovoked attack on Athens in 275, a year of profound peace.<sup>53</sup> In 274 and 273 he was fully occupied in Macedonia with Pyrrhus; his first opportunity came after Pyrrhus' death in 272, and his recovery of

<sup>50</sup> *Rev. Fil.* LIV, p. 334; *Gr. Gesch.* IV, ii, p. 453.

<sup>51</sup> See also de Sanctis, *Rev. Fil.* LV, p. 498.

<sup>52</sup> *IG*<sup>2</sup>, II, 1282 = *Ditt.*, 1105.

<sup>53</sup> Ferguson, however, *op. cit.* p. 73, thinks it was approximately this year.



Piraeus should belong to the settlement of affairs after Pyrrhus' death, whether the actual year be 271 or 270; the decree passed in 271/0 by the Athenian Nationalist government in honour of Demochares<sup>54</sup> might point to 270, but it carefully avoids mentioning Antigonus and might equally well be only a way of saying 'We are not down-hearted,' which the Chremonidean war shewed to be true. Chremonides' decree is again important here; for he couples together, in his indictment of Antigonus, the breach of a treaty with the establishment of tyrannies, which shews that he is alluding to a breach subsequent to the death of Pyrrhus. A reference to this capture of Piraeus by Antigonus occurs in the interview, so misunderstood by some modern writers, between Hierocles and Menedemus at Oropus,<sup>55</sup> whither Menedemus had been exiled in 273 or 272;<sup>56</sup> the interview can be at any time after that date—there is no *terminus ante quem*. Hierocles is called governor of Piraeus,<sup>57</sup> which shews that Antigonus had already taken it; and he gave Menedemus an account of Antigonus' capture of Eretria,<sup>58</sup> which must therefore have followed that of Piraeus as part of the liquidation of the situation brought about by Pyrrhus.

We can now understand Chremonides' decree. The treaty which he accused Antigonus of breaking was the *σπονδή* of 279, for no later treaty between Athens and Antigonus is known and there is no place for one; the breach was Antigonus' recovery of Piraeus after Pyrrhus' death. A general cessation of hostilities arranged in a hurry on a basis of *uti possidetis*, like the *σπονδαί* of 279, might easily give rise to controversy later; the Athenian Nationalists might claim that their treaty definitely gave them Piraeus, Antigonus might claim that it only provided for a cessation of hostilities and did not affect his overriding right to the possessions of his father Demetrius; as we do not know the terms of the treaty we can express no opinion. But the pretext for Antigonus' actual recapture of Piraeus must have been that Athens had helped, or favoured, Pyrrhus, and here again nothing is known of her relations with Pyrrhus; she sent an embassy to him,<sup>59</sup> but that might mean much or mean nothing. It was to get Piraeus back that Athens fought the Chremonidean war. But though she could fight Macedonia without Piraeus, she could not fight Macedonia without allies, and the delay between Antigonus' capture of Piraeus and 267 was forced upon her by the need of waiting till she had secured the alliance of Egypt and Sparta. As little is known of events in Greece between Pyrrhus' death in 272 and Chremonides' decree in 267, and nothing of the events at Ptolemy's court after Arsinoe's death in July 270, there is no possibility of knowing why the challenge to Antigonus was

<sup>54</sup> *Plut. Mor.* 851 D.

<sup>55</sup> *Diog. Laert.* II, 127.

<sup>56</sup> Beloch shewed (IV, ii, p. 463) from Delphic evidence that Menedemus was in disfavour at Eretria in 273 but not in 274; his actual exile can therefore have been any time before Pyrrhus' death.

<sup>57</sup> *ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Περσέως*; probably good third-century evidence. Wilamowitz, in *Antigonus von Korymbos*, and Beloch, IV, ii, p. 607, thought he was not yet governor, but only being called by a title

he acquired later. Can any case of the sort be cited? I do not think one ever has been.

<sup>58</sup> πολλὰ λέγοντος περὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως τῆς Ἐρετρίας. How such scholars as Ferguson (*Hellenistic Athens*, p. 165), Beloch (IV, ii, p. 607), and de Sanctis (*RivFil.* LV, p. 495) can have taken these simple words to mean that Hierocles tried to accuse Menedemus' help for a (forthcoming) attack upon Eretria is to me an insoluble puzzle.

<sup>59</sup> *Justin* XXV, 4, 4.



not issued till September 267; perhaps, had Arsinoë lived, it would have been issued earlier, though in 271 Egypt had just concluded a big war (the First Syrian) and may have desired a breathing space. In 267 Ptolemy II made Arsinoë's son Ptolemaeus, the claimant to the Macedonian throne, his co-regent; if the reason I have suggested elsewhere<sup>60</sup> for this be sound, it is one more reason for dating Chremonides' decree in 267. It has sometimes been wondered why Athens fought the Chremonidean war at all; the cause is now clear—Piræus.

The history of the time, then, so far as it can at present be pieced together—I emphasise 'at present'—appears not only to support, but to demand, the shifting back of Menekles and Nikias II from 269/8 and 268/7 to 281/0 and 280/79, and the location of Peithidemos in 267/6. This need not derange Ferguson's scheme (*op. cit.* p. 22, Table II), beyond moving Gorgias to the blank year 284/3; for the unnamed archons of *IG*<sup>2</sup>. II, 670 A and B, whose secretary quality is known and whom he has located in 281/0 and 280/79, could be shifted into the subsequent cycle to take the places vacated by Menekles and Nikias II. And it does not in fact derange Dinsmoor's scheme for the years 284/3–280/79,<sup>61</sup> beyond moving Gorgias from 281/0 to the blank year 284/3; 281/0 is most improbable for him in any case, for ten years before 271/0 is almost bound to be 280/79, as usually supposed. This means that Gorgias is not, as Dinsmoor thought, the archon of *IG*<sup>2</sup>. II, 773; the name is unknown. As to 280/79, it seems that [Apel]laios, *i.e.* the supposed -λαῖος of Epicurus fr. 103, is only a mistaken reading and that no such archon existed.<sup>62</sup> Consequently 281/0 and 280/79 are free for Menekles and Nikias II without disturbing anything else in Dinsmoor's arrangement; though to me Ferguson's argument for putting Kimon in 289/8 (left blank by Dinsmoor) rather than in 282/1 seems at present unanswerable. In any case there is one blank year in this cycle, whether 289/8 or 282/1.

Naturally the disturbance of Dinsmoor's list at the time of the Chremonidean war is greater, as with Peithidemos in 267/6 and Menekles and Nikias II moved back there would be three blank years in his scheme, 270/69 to 268/7; though the years 269/8 and 268/7 could, as already suggested, be filled from *IG*<sup>2</sup>. II, 670 A and B, leaving one blank only, 270/69—assuming, of course, that in the cycle 279/8–268/7 rotation in the order of the tribes was maintained. But of one thing I am fully convinced, and that is that, at present, no one can arrange the archons of this cycle, 279/8–268/7.<sup>63</sup> Not nearly enough historical facts are known, and hardly any secretary qualities; indeed I should not like even to assert that the archons of this cycle did rotate in the order of the tribes and were not arranged by sortition;<sup>64</sup> it is at least a possibility that the strongly democratic government of 280/79 (its quality is shewn by the choice of

<sup>60</sup> *CAH*. VII, p. 706.

<sup>61</sup> 284/3 blank; 283/2 Ourios; 282/1 Kimon I; 281/0 Gorgias; 280/79 [Apel]laios.

<sup>62</sup> Communicated by Gröner to Kirchner; see *Gnomon*, 1932, p. 452.

<sup>63</sup> Kolbe (*Hermes* LXVIII, 1933, p. 440, and *Gott. Nachr.* 1933, p. 493) would restore Polyuktos

to the seventies of this cycle, accompanied by the four archons attached to him by the Salamis inscription. It means that this cycle is thoroughly in the melting-pot again.

<sup>64</sup> Sortition was Ferguson's illuminating discovery; *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 48, and *passim*.



the Nationalist Callippus to command against the Gauls) might have employed sortition for the prytany secretaries of the ensuing cycle, just as the same government had done in 288 for the priests of Asklepios.<sup>65</sup> One greatly admires the scope and sweep of Dinsmoor's arrangement; but, as regards the period considered in this paper, it seems to me to be as true to-day as when I said it in 1920,<sup>66</sup> that 'for many years yet we shall have to go step by step.' I have tried to settle one point in this paper; but any day some new inscription may give a fresh turn to the kaleidoscope.

As regards the end of the Chremonidean war, which I formerly put in 262/1, I cannot do otherwise than accept Ferguson's brilliant argument<sup>67</sup> for a necessary interval between the surrender of Athens and the peace of 261, during which Gonatas ruled Athens through an absolute governor, and consequently I accept his date, 263/2, for Athens' surrender, though I think it was probably late in the year, *i.e.* in 262. The reason that Egypt, in spite of the defeats of her allies and the surrender of Athens, did not make peace till 261 would then be connected with the very obscure war going on in Asia Minor, concerning which I have tried elsewhere to collect the few scraps which exist;<sup>68</sup> and the actual peace may have been connected with the death of Antiochus I, which cannot at present be dated more nearly than somewhere between October 262 and April 261.

W. W. TARN.

<sup>65</sup> Ferguson, *ib.* pp. 54, 64.

<sup>66</sup> *JHS.* 1920, p. 158.

<sup>67</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 76-7, based on *SEG.* III, 89 (= *JG.* I, II, 477 with Wilhelm's restoration). Lines 15-16 now read  $\alpha\delta\epsilon\ \tau\eta\mu\ \delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\tau\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \pi\acute{o\lambda\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\theta\eta\eta\varsigma\ \pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\alpha\ \text{'}\text{Αντίϋου}\text{'}$ . The critical word,  $\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\tau\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , is quite certain, and suffices to prove Ferguson's point. But I venture to doubt  $\kappa\alpha\iota$

$\alpha\theta\eta\eta\varsigma$ ; strictly speaking, if two Powers have been at war, 'peace' must *precede* 'the restoration of friendship,' and before the date of this inscription Athens had surrendered unconditionally and so already had 'peace.' I would prefer to read  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\tau\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ .

<sup>68</sup> *CAH.* VII, p. 709, 'The war of Eumenes.'



## THE ORIENTAL ORIGIN OF HERAKLES

[PLATE II.]

ABOUT fifty miles to the north-east of Baghdad, an irregular eminence known as Tell Asmar has covered till recently the town of Eshnunna, which was abandoned to the desert after its destruction by Hammurabi in the twentieth century before Christ. The excavations now being conducted there by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago have unearthed, among other important finds, a number of cylinder seals from early Dynastic and Akkadian levels, of which those reproduced in Fig. 1 and Plate II, 1, together with one seal (Plate II, 2) from the Southesk collection,<sup>1</sup> form the basis of this article.

It will be observed that the designs shown in Fig. 1, a Sumerian

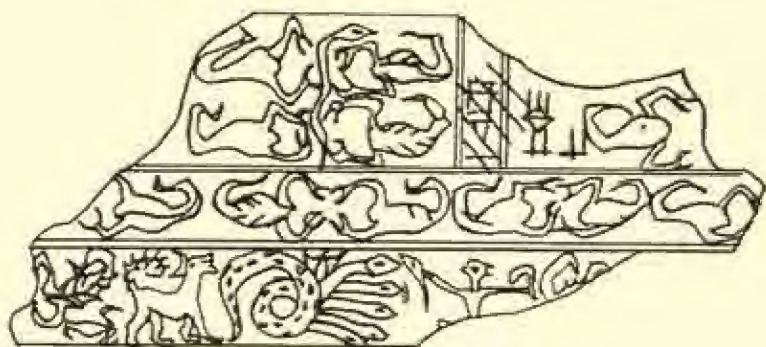


FIG. 1.—SEAL IMPRESSION FROM TELL ASMAR.

impression pieced from fragments of clay, and Plate II, 1, an Akkadian stone cylinder of about 2500 B.C., both represent the conquest of a hydra-like monster. The impression has a serpent, two of whose seven heads have already been severed by a crudely-rendered man or god who holds a head in either hand, the stumps being visible above the living heads which still menace him. The scene is placed between friezes of scorpions, among whom is a single-headed snake, while a dragon with scorpion-tail stands behind the hydra, a participant, it may be, in the contest. An almost obliterated inscription in pre-Akkadian signs throws no light on the artist's intention.

The Akkadian Hydra (Plate II, 1) is dragon-bodied, and the divine antagonist has a comrade who kindles fire, it seems,<sup>2</sup> for his assistance.

<sup>1</sup> Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 15.

pretation.

<sup>2</sup> See Part III below, for an alternative inter-



At the knee of this being is a shallow scorpion-shaped depression, which may or may not be accidental.

Plate II, 2, Akkadian work again, reveals to the left of a group of vegetation deities the form of a god from whose shoulders plants are springing, while a ram leaps towards his knee; who wears the lion's skin and carries the club and bow associated with Herakles. A cylinder seal analogous in subject with this last, and closely resembling it in style, was found unfinished at Eshnunna.

An account of the whole series of which these seals form a part has been published by Dr. Henry Frankfort, Field Director of the Expedition to Tell Asmar, in the first number of *Iraq*. He recognises in their subjects, rare among the Sumerians, but rising to sudden importance in the hands of their Akkadian supplanters, a series of events chosen from the cult of the local God of Vegetation, whose temple, together with relics of its ceremonial rites, was uncovered at Eshnunna during the winter of 1932-33.<sup>3</sup> Among the latter may be mentioned two alabaster plaques, the one<sup>4</sup> shewing worshippers in attendance on the God in his snake-form, and the other the performance of a *lepōs γάμος*, constant features of fertility-cult in later times. Frankfort is able to shew on the evidence of the excavations as a whole that during the later dynasties the Sumerians had begun to fuse the personalities of their several fertility gods into a single deity of varying aspects or local epithets (such as he believes him to have been at his origin). He proves on the authority of the seals that in this God, a potency of the changing seasons, the solar and chthonic elements were mingled, the Semitic Akkadians later stressing his solar aspects until the victorious Marduk replaced in popular imagination the suffering Tammuz together with the band of older vegetation spirits which he had absorbed into himself.

The following pages are an attempt to discover how closely the figure of Herakles and such traces of his cult as are known to us can be connected with those divinities, and what justification may exist for the recognition of his person on the seals.

The fact at once emerges, of primary importance for our investigation, that among the heroes worshipped in historic Greece, only Herakles was man and also god. His twofold personality is made clear in one of our earliest records, where Odysseus encounters him among the dead<sup>5</sup> :—

'Next I became conscious of the might of Herakles; his shadow only, for he himself is in bliss among the immortal Gods.'

That this was no single poet's vision is attested by Pindar's *ἥρωες θεός*,<sup>6</sup> and Herodotus<sup>7</sup> is quite explicit:—

<sup>3</sup> *Ill. London News*, July 22nd, 1933.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, also *Times* of July 10th, 1933.

<sup>5</sup> *Hom. Od.* XI, 601 f.:

τὸν δὲ δὴ μετ' ἐπετίθησθαι βίησιν Ἡρακλῆϊν,  
εἰδωλὸν αὐτόν; δὲ μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι  
τέρπεται.

<sup>6</sup> *Pind. Nem.* III, 27.

<sup>7</sup> Herodotus, II, 44: καὶ δοκίμου δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀρβόρατα Ἕλλησιν ποιεῖν οἱ εἰς Ἡράκλεια ἱδρυόμενοι δοκίμου καὶ τῷ μὲν ὡς ἀθανάτῳ Οὐλύμπιῳ δὲ ἱερῶν αἰνῶσι θύουσι, τῷ δὲ ἑτέρῳ ὡς ἥρωϊ ἐναγίζουσι. Quoted in this connexion by J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, p. 373.



'And I think that those of the Greeks do quite rightly who have established a double worship of Herakles, and to the one make sacrifice as an immortal with the name of Olympian, and to the other perform rites as to a hero.'

Farnell<sup>8</sup> has shewn in detail how widely separated were those two modes of ritual, the cult of Herakles alone offering a common objective. In Greece, however, it was obviously his heroic aspect which held the imagination and developed through literature and art a character so many-coloured, clear-cut and vigorous that the divine background was almost forgotten. This purely human personality, in spite of several points of close resemblance with the Babylonian hero Gilgamesh, stands apart in the main as a definitely Hellenic creation, and need be touched upon here but briefly to throw the divine Herakles into his proper relief.

### I. HERAKLES AS MAN

A. *Prehellenic*. Professor Nilsson<sup>9</sup> takes the *Iliad* to witness that the cycle of twelve labours must in some form have been well known to Homer, as undertaken by a Tirynthian Herakles in subjection to Eurystheus of Mycenae,<sup>10</sup> that Homer's treatment of the birth legends puts back the Theban cycle to a prehistoric Thebes, and that reference is made to several stories about Herakles which appear to have fallen out of memory in historic times. Nilsson assigns to the pre-Homeric cycle the earlier labours (as we know them), with their landscape in Northern Peloponnesos, and their wild hunting scenes—heroic deeds to the minds of the earlier race and frequent subjects in their art, but without interest to the Hellenic Greeks unless in a mythological setting.

B. *Hellenic*. The human Herakles as known to us in historic times is especially the performer of voluntary labours (πάρεργα) undertaken from compassion for mankind, whose trials he shares. Like Gilgamesh he exhibits an occasional savagery reminiscent of some more primitive hero from whom he traces descent, and a gluttony dear to the comic poets, but chiefly he is the Guardian of Youth,<sup>11</sup> ἀλεξικακος, of disease and old age,<sup>12</sup> σωτήρ of Alkestis and Theseus<sup>13</sup> and Prometheus, who in the words of Aristophanes 'goes straight for the greatest foe.' As Hellenic hero he has Athena for Guide, and needs initiation into the Lesser Mysteries founded for his sake at Agrae<sup>14</sup> and later into those at Eleusis.<sup>15</sup> As ancestor of the Dorians and of the Lydian kings he is an 'historical' personage, like the vegetation Gods Tammuz and Osiris, once kings in their own land. His legendary place of death on Mount Oeta was kept in memory by a ritual of which the archaeological remains, consisting of the foundations of a pyre with its enclosure, and some bronzes and black-

<sup>8</sup> Farnell, *Hero-Culti*, Chap. V.

<sup>9</sup> Nilsson, *Mycaean Origin of Greek Religion*, p. 207 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Iliad*, XV, 639 f.

<sup>11</sup> Harrison, *Themis*, p. 37B.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. inscribed relief reproduced in *Themis*, Fig.

104 from *AM*, 1911, Pl. 11. Also *JHS*, 1893, Pl. XXX.

<sup>13</sup> Beazley, *VA*, fig. 85.

<sup>14</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Plout.* 845.

<sup>15</sup> *Xen. Hell.* vi, 38, etc.



figured sherds inscribed with the name of Herakles, were excavated in 1920 and published by N. Pappadakis.<sup>16</sup>

## II. HERAKLES AS DIVINITY

### (1) AS FERTILITY DAIMON.

A. *Prehellenic*. Even in Hellas, Herakles as a deity of birth, growth and decay was by no means completely overshadowed by the human hero. That this divinity had a prehistoric origin is made evident by the accounts which Pausanias has left of three shrines of his cult as Idaean Daktyl, one of those survivors, that is to say, of Minoan Crete, whom Plutarch calls 'daimons from the Age of Kronos';<sup>17</sup>

(a) at Megalopolis, in the sanctuary of the Great Goddesses he received offerings as attendant on the infant or Cretan Zeus;<sup>18</sup>

(b) at his temple in Thespiac, Pausanias heard the tale of his marriage with the fifty daughters of Thestios, suggesting the practice of a former *lépos γάμος*, though in Pausanias' day the shrine was served by a virgin priestess;<sup>19</sup>

(c) and especially at Mykalessos,<sup>20</sup> a name connected with early migrations from S.W. Asia Minor to Crete and the Aegean,<sup>21</sup> where he closed each night and opened by day the doors of the Temple of Demeter, before whose feet in autumn they placed fruit that bloomed for a whole year.

Still more important a link with the Cretan fertility cult is revealed in the tradition related to Pausanias by the priestly families of Elis, that it was in the character of eldest of the Idaean Daktyls that Herakles founded the Olympic Games, crowning with wild olive brought from the land of the 'Hyperboreans' <sup>22</sup> the victor in the foot-race among his brethren the Kouretes, who had sung the hymn of yearly renewal round the cradle of Diktæan Zeus.<sup>23</sup> It was this Herakles, it is evident, who gave its name to the Hill of Kronos 'wet with snow,' suggesting a winter festival.<sup>24</sup> Mr. Cornford, inspired by Professor A. B. Cook, has given reason for the assumption that the foot-race began as a fertility rite, the victor replacing the founder as daimon of the New Year, crowned and pelted with leaves,<sup>25</sup> and so Jane Harrison links the ritual of Herakles as year-daimon with the yearly rites paid to him as hero,<sup>26</sup> shewing how a dead hero may also be, perhaps always is, a daimon. But in purely Greek religion he is never a God.

B. *Hellenic*. The drama of Sophocles has bequeathed us the life history of Herakles as Greek spirit of vegetation and seasonal birth and decay. Since it is a feature of all superhuman warfare that the qualities

<sup>16</sup> N. Pappadakis, *BCH*, 1920, 322 f.; 1921, 323.

<sup>17</sup> Plutarch, *De fac. in orb. lun.* XXX.

<sup>18</sup> Cook, *Zeus*, I, 112, quoting Paus. VIII. 31, 4.

<sup>19</sup> Paus. IX. 27, 6, discussed in Harrison, *Themis*, p. 371.

<sup>20</sup> Paus. IX. 19, 5.

<sup>21</sup> Paus. V. 7, 6. See Cornford in *Themis*, p. 235, 4, who quotes Weniger, *Der Heilige Ölbaum in Olympia*

(Weimar, 1895), p. 2.

<sup>22</sup> Pind. *Ol.* III, *Pyth.* X.

<sup>23</sup> See opening chapter of *Themis*.

<sup>24</sup> Pind. *Ol.* X, 49.

<sup>25</sup> *Origin of the Olympic Games*; Chap. VII of *Themis*.

<sup>26</sup> *Themis*, p. 372.



or attributes of the conquered become powers of the victor, so the river Acheloös, manifest fertility daimon under the changing shapes of bull, snake and man<sup>27</sup> loses to Herakles, the new and higher daimon, both his horn and his bride. The horn in more fruitful hands is 'exalted' as cornucopia, the wedding of Herakles with Deianeira is seen to be a *lépos yávos*,<sup>28</sup> prophesied to him in Hades, harbinger like the marriage of the year-king in Babylonia, of his own death and hers. In this ritual-drama the Centaur Nessos is the double of Acheloös<sup>29</sup> another daimon of the powers of growth, who in defeat destroys his conqueror. Antaios too is such another adversary, whose strength is renewed by contact with the earth.

The double poplar-wreathed bust in the Vatican<sup>30</sup> may very possibly represent the bearded and beardless, young-old Herakles, a 'Dying-God' like Hippolytus-Virbius in the busts from Nemi<sup>31</sup> and the two-faced Marduk sometimes appearing on Akkadian seals.

C. *Orphic*. In the Orphic texts the quality of Herakles is revealed quite explicitly as ἡ δύναμις τῆς φύσεως, making him thus the very counterpart of the God of Eshnunna, that is, the personification of the generative powers of nature. Already Hymn XII surprisingly invokes him as ἀφολομόρφε παγγενέτωρ, and pictures him as wearing dawn and darkness about his head—the 'time' aspect whose significance will presently become clearer—whirling a branch, no dead club, to scatter the evil plagues.<sup>32</sup>

Consistently with the hymn the theogony of Hellanikos and Hieronymus quoted by Damaskios<sup>33</sup> introduces him at the creation of the world as a winged snake born of water and earth, whose three heads are those of lion, god and bull,<sup>34</sup> and his other name Chronos the Ageless. This account is confirmed, as Professor Cook has shewn,<sup>35</sup> by Athenagoras and others, who, however, omit the bovine head, thus stressing his solar affinities, and declare that the snake Herakles laid an egg, which, filled with his force, burst into halves, the upper heaven the lower earth. So Tiamat, the primeval chaos of the Babylonian Epic of Creation,<sup>36</sup> is split like an oyster by the wind of Marduk when caught in the net of ordered being, and this late version may therefore be coloured by direct reminiscence of

<sup>27</sup> Sophocles, *Trach.* 9 ff. and many vase paintings.

<sup>28</sup> As pointed out by Harrison, *Themis*, p. 368.

<sup>29</sup> On the Hydria B313 in the BM. (published in *Gaz. Arch.* 1875, pls. 20, 21) Acheloös is a Centaur except for his horn. The true bull's body appears in the vase-painting pub. in *AZ.* XVI (1883), pl. 11, and reproduced in *Themis*, fig. 99. So in BM. B228 Acheloös is a horned centaur, and the representations of Herakles' fights with Nessos are generally identical in attitude. Only the gods are absent. The snake-bodied Acheloös with bull's horn is represented magnificently on the red-figured stamnos of Pamphaios, BM. E437. For centaurs as fertility daimons see J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, pp. 379, 380.

<sup>30</sup> E. Q. Visconti, *Musei Pio-Clementini*, Milan,

1821, vi. 100, 102, pl. 13, 2. See Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 389, B.

<sup>31</sup> Cook, *Zeus*, II, pls. XXII, XXIII. Prof. Cook, considers it more probable that this bust represents Hermes-Herakles.

<sup>32</sup> XII. 15: ἑξάστες δὲ καὶ ἄσπερ, ἀλάστον ἐν χειρὶ πάλλασθαι.

<sup>33</sup> Damaskios, *Quaest. de primis principiis* 123 bis, quoted by Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 1022, Appendix G.

<sup>34</sup> See the Cilician coin Fig. 4 below, the 'God' being represented by the Club of Herakles.

<sup>35</sup> *Ib.* p. 1023. Athenag. *Supplicatio pro Christianis*, 18, p. 20 (E. Norden in *Hermes*, 1892, XXVII. 614 f.).

<sup>36</sup> *Epic of Creation*, Tab. IV. 137. See p. 147, Note 3, of Langdon's translation.



Babylonian texts. But Iamblichos in his *Life of Pythagoras*<sup>37</sup> sets Herakles in the midst of a purely Hellenic Triad, in a Grace which names Zeus as the director of nurture, Herakles as the dynamic principle of growth, and the Dioskouroi as harmony of all the ingredients. Delatte is scornful of these 'allegories,' but an idea seems to underlie the passage akin to the belief that Vishnu, the Preserver in the Hindu trinity, becomes incarnate in a succession of saviours of men, and it also appears probable from several of the texts that Marduk held this position in the trinity of the Babylonian Gods. But however the personalities of the divine and human Herakles may have been linked together in orthodox minds, the conception of the daimonic Herakles which these texts define is in any case established as existing in Hellenic Greece, and as having a pre-Greek origin, whose provenance can be considered only after investigation of that other aspect of Herakles which was important on the eastern shores of the Aegean sea.

## (2) AS SUN-GOD.

The 'Time' aspect of Herakles relates him not only to the seasons of growth and decay, but still more closely to solar change. Servius in his commentary on Verg. *Aen.* 8, 276, quoted by Professor Cook,<sup>38</sup> refers to a cult of Herakles 'pro tempore' as described by the Babylonians, saying that the white poplar tree was sacred to him under that aspect, the dark and light sides of the leaves with which he crowned himself after victory over Cerberus (and still wears in many works of art), dark from Hades, white with the sweat of his labour, being symbols of day and night. This at once recalls the Herakles of the Orphic hymn ὃς περὶ κρατὶ φορεῖς ἥω καὶ νύκτα μέλαιναν. It calls to mind also those coins of Baris in Pisidia<sup>39</sup> which portray a double Herakles, the mortal and immortal twin, the sojourner in Hades whom Odysseus found and the dweller in the sky. In Herakles, too, then, as in the Gods of Akkad and Sumer already described, the solar and chthonic elements were mingled.

His labours occupied a Great Year, or cycle of twelve years, as inscribed upon the tablet which he left with Deianeira at their last parting<sup>40</sup> and were associated by the ancients with the passage of the sun through the Zodiac. His lion-emblem is astrologically the sun's own sign, and must be won without weapons (as numerous magnificent vase paintings bear witness), its skin being removed only by its own claws. So does Marduk (and with the lion and the sun we leave behind the isolation of the Greek world) hold the defeated constellations in his net, 'the sky's gold-knotted mesh,' to fix them in their stations.

As the *risen Sun*, indeed, Herakles has no home in European Greece. Just as the Sun-God strides between his gates on Akkadian seals, a rayed

<sup>37</sup> Iamblichos v. Pyth. 155; quoted by Delatte in his *Études sur la littérature pythagoricienne*, Paris, 1915, p. 115 f.; ἀνίστην δὲ πρὸ τροπῆς παρακαλῶν Διὸς Σωτήρος καὶ Ἡρακλέους καὶ Διοσκουρέων, τῇ τροφοῇ ὁμοῦντος καὶ ἀρχηγὸν καὶ τῶν ταύτης ἡγούμενον Δία, καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τῃ δυνάμει τῇ φύσει, καὶ τοῖς Διοσκουροῖς

τῇ συμφωνίᾳ τῶν ἀστέων.

<sup>38</sup> *Zeus*, II, p. 469.

<sup>39</sup> *Ib.* p. 446; figs. 354, 355, 356.

<sup>40</sup> See Verrall, *The Calendar in the Tradition of Sophocles* (CR. 1896).



and heavenly being, so Herakles stands between his double pillars, from the Atlantic shore to India, but never on Greek soil. At Tyre they were seen by Herodotus<sup>41</sup> of gold and of emerald, λαμπρότος τὰς νύκτας μέγας, and the Tyrian Hiram placed them in Solomon's temple as Jakin and Boaz. Those at Gadeira, says Arrian, were dedicated to the year and the months.<sup>42</sup> And Herodorus speaks of the Pillars of Heaven given to Herakles by a Phrygian Atlas.<sup>43</sup>

But the winter, or setting sun, with his chthonic affinities, is once more at home in Greek legend, art and ritual. The voyage of Herakles to the West, steering the sun's cup across the stream of Ocean (where Odysseus encountered the dead), to bring back the oxen of the triple-bodied Geryon, is but another version of his descent to the underworld to bear away the three-headed Cerberus, as in the Orphic theogony he rears his own three heads out of chaos. So on Akkadian seals the Sun-God travels in just such a cup-like boat (used to this day on Mesopotamian waterways) leading his chained beasts.<sup>44</sup> As Dr. Frankfort has shewn,<sup>45</sup> this is no heavenly circuit, because there are always present a plough<sup>46</sup> and other symbols of the life of the crops, and once indeed<sup>47</sup> the God himself drives the plough, in the curved form of the boat and dragon-headed, through the 'unharvested deep.' And just as Herakles wounded the God of the Underworld 'in the gate, among the dead,'<sup>48</sup> so did Ninurta, the most Heraklean of the vegetation gods whose personality became merged into that of Marduk, do battle at the door of Marduk's mountain prison with Enmesharra, the Akkadian Pluto. So too did Herakles strive with the God for the soul of Alkestis, and his living hand raised Theseus from his immovable seat among the shades.<sup>49</sup> And as Ninurta, in the recurring ritual of the Babylonian New Year, rescues Marduk, the imprisoned Sun, by shooting the bird-God Zu, stealer of the Tablets of Destiny, so is Prometheus, another chained and fiery being,<sup>50</sup> delivered from the eagle by the arrow of Herakles. Indeed, the image of Zu on the seals, outspread sideways before the Sun-God on his mountain, may even have suggested the pierced liver of Prometheus. Their story seems again to illustrate the interchange between conquered and conqueror among the gods, for Prometheus and the eagle Zu, both of the older order of divinities, both stole from Heaven power and knowledge for the enemies of the younger Gods, and Ninurta combined the sun's lion and the fallen eagle in his emblem, the lion-headed Imgi, which, it is interesting to note, is found to predominate among the Sumerian fertility pendants worn at Eshnunna in the service of Ab-ù (Tammuz).<sup>51</sup> Langdon says that Tammuz, the divinity whose yearly sojourn in the lower world was the ritualistic prototype of Marduk's winter imprisonment in the

<sup>41</sup> Herodotus, II. 44.

<sup>42</sup> Arrian *op. Eunuch ad Dionys. Perieg.* v, 64, 72.

<sup>43</sup> Herodorus *ap. Clem. Alex. Strom.* I, 15, 73, p. 390.

<sup>44</sup> See central seal of group in *Ill. London News*, July 15th, 1933.

<sup>45</sup> *Iraq*, I, pp. 18-19.

<sup>46</sup> The plough was, of course, also a constellation.

<sup>47</sup> Frankfort, *l.c.* Pl. III, h.

<sup>48</sup> *Iliad*, V. 397 reading ἐν πύλαις for ἐν Πύλαις.

<sup>49</sup> See No. 13 above.

<sup>50</sup> Even if his name has no connection with Sankr, *pramantha* = firestick (cf. Diodorus, 5, 67), he is said to have obtained his fire by touching the wheel of the sun: Serv. in Verg. *Ecl.* 6, 42.

<sup>51</sup> *Ill. London News*, July 15th, 1933 (coloured plate).



mountain, is sometimes identified in the texts with Orion,<sup>52</sup> another hunter Sun-God, it seems, chained among the stars and blinded like the sun-hero Samson, a Semitic Herakles whose first exploit was to wrestle with a lion, who like him was overthrown by a woman, and trod his circle grinding the corn, and in his fall brought down his pillars with him. Images of the fettered Melkart, the Phoenician Herakles, are described by several of the ancients.<sup>53</sup>

The *fiery death* of the Sun-God Herakles takes us straight from the forgotten ritual on Mount Oeta to the pyres built yearly for Melkart in Tyre,<sup>54</sup> for Sandas at Tarsus, and to the burning of Kingu at the New Year's festival in Babylon, as represented on the seals. The identification of Melkart with Herakles is fortunately placed beyond doubt, for the bilingual inscription found at Malta confirms the statements of ancient writers from Herodotus downwards. Turning to Asia Minor, we find the double axe, taken by Herakles from the dead Amazon and left to his descendants the Lydian kings, in the hands of Sandas on Cilician coins (perhaps a fertility emblem, to judge by that Anatolian sculptured god with Sandas' tall cap whose lion-body ends in a dagger struck into the earth, connected by Professor Cook<sup>55</sup> with the double axe stuck into leaf-bearing pillars in Minoan art), and the woman's garment worn during his year of bondage to Omphale clothed the images of the dying Sandas and Adonis, as well as his own priest at Kos,<sup>56</sup> as also the priests of Ishtar. That degradation was, in fact, for no mortal Queen, and as Omphale carries his weapons in Lydian art and legend, so does the Goddess Ma herself bear his club on a coin of Pontic Comana.<sup>57</sup> It is the old Anatolian relation of dominant Goddess and young consort.

The periodic burnings of Sandas, to which indirect reference is made by ancient writers, are apparently represented on a succession of Hellenistic coins of Tarsus in Cilicia<sup>58</sup> and find a counterpart in the Jewish Feast of Purim, during which images of Haman were bound to a cross and burned.<sup>59</sup> Frazer identifies Esther with Ishtar and Mordecai with Marduk, thus making a direct connexion with the Babylonian Festival of the New Year. Yet another strange survival of the ritual of the yearly

<sup>52</sup> Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 216.

<sup>53</sup> Raoul-Rochette, *Sur l'Hercule syrien et phénicien*, *Mém. Ac. Ins.* XVII, 2me. partie, 1848, throws doubt on these, partly because he considers such a statue 'tout à fait étranger à l'idée religieuse du mythe' (p. 19). He describes, however, an Etruscan figure of Hercules in which the legs are held imprisoned in lead (p. 24) and compares it with the chained lion among human-headed bulls on one of the façades at Khorsabad.

<sup>54</sup> See Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, V, 1, Chap. 5 for the evidence of the burning of Melkart, and Chap. VI for the pyres erected to Sandas. Cook in *Zeus*, Vol. I, pp. 600, 601, does not consider his arguments conclusive. Yet Clem. *Recognit.* X, 24, has 'Herculis sepulchrum apud Tyrum demonstratur, ubi igne crematus est' and Dion Chrysostom speaks to the

men of Tarsus (*Or.* 33, p. 231.) of the beautiful pyre which they built for Herakles their founder.

<sup>55</sup> *Zeus*, II, pp. 530-532. Both Herodotus, I, 93, and Klearch. *ap. Athen.* I, XII, p. 516A, mention a ἑστὸς γάμος in connexion with the worship of Herakles in Lydia. Omphale was evidently a Goddess who destroyed her lovers like Ishtar and Semiramis.

<sup>56</sup> The priest of Herakles at Kos was required to perform the sacrifices wearing a woman's robe, with a mitre upon his head. Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* LVIII.

<sup>57</sup> *Rec. gén. des monnaies gr. d'Asie Mineure, Penna, Paphlagonia*, Tom. I, Fasc. 1. 2me Edition, p. 110, n. 12A, pl. XII, n. 4 (pointed out to me by Dr. Bertha Segall).

<sup>58</sup> See Part IV below.

<sup>59</sup> Frazer, *Golden Bough*, IX, pp. 360-361.



burnings may be found, as suggested by Raoul-Rochette,<sup>60</sup> in the story of Er, with which Plato brings the *Republic* to so fitting a close. The corpse, laid on the pyre on the twelfth day after death in battle, revived to tell of the world beyond death. And that resurrection calls up an important point of connexion between Mount Oeta and the pyres of Asia. Josephus<sup>61</sup> speaks of the rite called ἡ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἑγέρσις, which seems to have followed the burning of Melkart's image at Tyre, and the bird which hovers above Sandas' triangular pile on the Cilician coins<sup>62</sup> may play the rôle of the eagle above similar scenes of the apotheosis of certain Roman Emperors. One of the Tarsian coins, it is true, has an inscription referring to quails, which was associated by Raoul-Rochette with the birds flung to the flames before the body of Adonis at Byblos. It calls to memory, indeed, the legend that the mother of Melkart took the form of a quail, but more pertinent in this connexion is the strange Osirian story preserved by Athenaeus,<sup>63</sup> that Herakles, slain by Typhon in Libya, was revived by the scent of roasted quail. It seems apparent also, as Frazer has shewn,<sup>64</sup> that the self-burnings of Croesus in Lydia (himself the descendant of Herakles), of the Phoenician Hamilcar, and of Sardanapalus the human Sandas, were performed by rulers in imitation of their God, to obtain resurrection for themselves and their people, and that the yearly burning of Kingu, Marduk's adversary, at the New Year's Festival in Babylon (for which the Akkadian seals shew a far earlier history), was part of the rites by which the king, sacrificed in the person or image of another, renewed his life and that of his people and their sustenance for the coming year. In the Epic of Creation upon which that festival was founded, Kingu is definitely sacrificed for the creation of mankind, who are formed of his blood.<sup>65</sup> The king's substitute in Babylon used the royal wives as his own, and it is significant that Hyllos, the son of Herakles, is ordered by his father in the Trachiniae, both to kindle the pyre and to succeed him as husband of Iole. Nonnus<sup>66</sup> speaks of that death in complete accordance with Asiatic belief: Ἀνδρᾶς δ' ἐν πυρὶ γῆρας, ἀμείβεται ἐκ πυρὸς ἡβην. The punning use of the name of Herakles' Olympian bride, and reference to his warfare with Old Age, shows that the death of Herakles in the flames held a promise of immortality for the Greeks also, as the fire brought it to the human child who comforted Demeter in her wanderings. Ninurta burned Kingu, but Herakles was his own sacrifice, 'himself to himself' like Odin hanging on the world tree, and like Shamash, the Akkadian Sun-God, who remained with Tammuz in the shadow of the Kishkanu Tree, in the underworld 'where no man comes.'<sup>67</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Raoul-Rochette, *l.c.*, following Movers, makes some interesting speculations on the origin of his name, connecting it with ἥλ light, ἥλ fire. ἥλ lion, and refers to Ἀπῆρος, the Macedonian name for Herakles (pp. 35, 40).

<sup>61</sup> Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* VIII, 5, 3.

<sup>62</sup> Raoul-Rochette, *op. cit.* p. 32.

<sup>63</sup> Athenaeus, IX, 47, p. 392, D, E, quoted by

Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, I, p. 111.

<sup>64</sup> Frazer, *ib.* Chap. 6.

<sup>65</sup> *Epic of Creation*, Tab. VI, 26. See note 10, p. 109, of Langdon's translation.

<sup>66</sup> Nonnus, *Dionysiacs*, XI, 398.

<sup>67</sup> 'In its holy house, casting its shadow like a forest where none entereth, wherein are Shamash and Tammuz.' Langdon, *Sum. Myth.* 152.



## III. THE HYDRA

The serpent is the alter ego of Herakles, as of the God of Eshnunna in his chthonic aspect (Ningiszida). Far from 'sloughing the snake,' as Jane Harrison affirms of him, he found it his antagonist through life. His feet were too firmly planted on the earth to permit him to slay it as Apollo destroyed the Python, so Herakles lost the contest for the Tripod and never became the Greek Sun-God. The twin serpents sent by Hera he strangled at his birth, but the Hydra's heads could only be vanquished by fire, and the midmost, still immune, must be buried alive. In fighting this particular monster he had only the support of human fellowship, and was hindered by the crab. The Akkadian craftsman, as we saw, gives to the protagonist on his seal a helper who drives into the flames his trident-headed rod, such as 3000 years later a Gallic Herakles wields in attacking a seven-headed, dragon-bodied hydra on a relief from Vaison.<sup>68</sup> When we remember that the Snake-God Ningiszida alone has flames rising from his altars on the seals,<sup>69</sup> an uncertainty arises as to whether the fiery streams



FIG. 2.—SEAL IN CAMBRIDGE.

that stand above the body of the Akkadian Hydra may not represent an explosion of the monster's own power directed against his adversaries. The texts of the Rig-Veda, however, support the assumption that fire is the weapon of the attacking Gods.<sup>70</sup> The tale of Indra's fight with the seven-headed serpent who attempted to drink up the waters of life, already associated with the Greek myth by Leopold von Schröder,<sup>71</sup> takes quite a new significance in the light of the previous season's (1931-2) discovery, in Akkadian levels at Tell Asmar, of a seal and other relics of the Mohenjodaro civilisation of the Indus Valley.<sup>72</sup> In the Rig-Veda the critical struggle with the water-serpent and its attendant 'son of the spider' is prophesied to the child Indra at birth.<sup>73</sup> Aided by Vishnu he eventually destroys it, like Herakles, with fiery weapons, and tramples the son of the spider beneath his foot.

The existence of our Sumerian impression (Plate II, 1) suggests an earlier tale of poisonous swamps drained by the vigorous Highland immi-

<sup>68</sup> Espérandieu, I, 212, No. 274: reproduced in B. Schweitzer, *Herakles*, fig. 38. Another example of the survival of our seven-headed quadruped is shown in Fig. 2, a seal in *terra sigillata Lemnia* preserved in the library of Queens' College, Cambridge, and kindly contributed by Prof. Cook.

<sup>69</sup> Frankfurt, *l.c.* p. 12.

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<sup>70</sup> *Rig-Veda*, II, 11, 10.

<sup>71</sup> Leopold von Schröder, *Herakles und Indra* (*Denkschr. der Kais. Ak. d. Wiss. Wien, Phil.-Hist. Kl.* Vols. LVIII, LIX, 1914).

<sup>72</sup> *Ill. London News*, Oct. 8th, 1932.

<sup>73</sup> *Rig-Veda*, VIII, 66 (v. Schröder, p. 34).



grants beyond the receding waters of the Persian Gulf,<sup>74</sup> but it is natural that in India it should be the Rain-God whose slaughter of a thirsty monster saved the world from drought. These texts may indeed embody the original form of the legend. As to the 'son of the spider,' Professor Langdon states<sup>75</sup> that until Neo-Babylonian times the scorpion took among the constellations the place of the crab.

The Avesta and later Persian texts have the tale also,<sup>76</sup> and there the kiss of Ahriman upon the shoulders of the snake causes the additional heads to sprout forth, as they sometimes do from the shoulders of Ningis-zida, identified with the constellation Hydra.<sup>77</sup> But to the Greeks it had become a tale of human struggle, as Vergil knew:—

Non te rationis egentem,  
Lernaeus turba caput circumstetit anguis,

and Herakles as man found the dragon Ladon coiled round the tree of the Hesperides, and could only obtain its fruit by supporting the whole sky on his shoulders while Atlas calmed the monster. The possession of these apples should have gained him immortal life, twice won indeed already by his journey to the Western boundary of the earth, and to the underworld for Cerberus, but the Hydra's poison reaching him from his own arrow in the body of the Centaur Nessos forced him first to die. From the envenomed robe bequeathed him by the older divinities of vegetation, through Deianeira an involuntary Delilah, he could find deliverance only on the Oetean pyre. In this manner the Hydra united his three aspects of man, daimon and god, and it is fitting that a Hydra seal should have been the first recognisable indication of his presence in the Pantheon of Akkad and Sumer.

#### IV. THE HISTORIC LINK

These connections are based upon indirect evidence alone, but the great gulf of space and time separating Herakles from his Babylonian affinities has lately been bridged in part by a discovery of the first importance,<sup>78</sup> namely, the reading of a Luvian-Hittite bilingual text from Boghaz-keui<sup>79</sup> in which the ideogram for Marduk is used to translate the name Sandas. It becomes necessary to consider from a new standpoint the religious personality of Herakles in Asia Minor, especially the literary and archaeological evidence for his identification with Sandas. If this

<sup>74</sup> There is in the National Museum in Copenhagen a mace-head (No. 3413) of unknown provenance, round which is carved a frieze of Imgi-birds resembling those which surround the famous silver vase of Entemena in the Louvre, and probably of the same period. Round the top of the mace-head is coiled a seven-headed serpent, affording further evidence that this monster was known in Sumerian times.

<sup>75</sup> Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 160. Dr. Albright has drawn my attention to two texts of the Babylonian period from the library at Nippur, which

describe Nuiib's battle with a seven-headed serpent; Heozny, *Mit. d. Vorderas. Ges.* Tab. III (? K. 38, Rev. 13) and Tab. IV (? K. 4829.79.7.8.290 and Rev. 117, obv. 14.)

<sup>76</sup> Von Schröder, *l.c.* pp. 7-8.

<sup>77</sup> Langdon, *l.c.* Chap. V, p. 159.

<sup>78</sup> *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients*, III, I: *Kleinasion*, by Albrecht Götze, Munich, 1933, p. 127, and brought to my notice by Professor Frankfort.

<sup>79</sup> *KUB.* IX, 31, ii, 22, I, 36 (= HT. I, i, 29); Götze, *op. cit.* p. 127, n. 7.



can be established upon an incontestable basis, the very route of his journey into Europe may become apparent.

A. *Archaeological Evidence.* No existing monument can be certainly identified with Sandas. In the inscription cut on the cliff-side at Ivritz before the face of the God who wears a horned, pointed cap and carries fertility emblems, Sayce and Jensen believed that the name Sandas could be deciphered, and the town beyond the gorge was called Herakleia in Byzantine times.<sup>80</sup> But a more definite body of evidence is available in the series of coins from Tarsus in Cilicia<sup>81</sup> which covers roughly the period of the later Persian and Seleucid empires and appears to present the figure of Herakles interchangeably with that of Sandas as tutelary deity of the city. The earliest of these (Fig. 3) from the collection of Professor Cook<sup>82</sup> shews a purely Greek Herakles, naked and bearded, recognisable by the club which he extends towards his worshipper, the satrap Datames who ruled over Cilicia from 378 to 374 B.C. Fig. 4,<sup>83</sup> struck by the satrap Mazaios about a generation later, shews the club of Herakles falling upon a lion and



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

FIGS. 3, 4—COINS OF TARSUS

bull locked in a death-struggle above the towered city of Tarsus, reminiscent of that Orphic triad of lion, god and bull in the theogony of Damaskios.<sup>84</sup> The next two examples, dating from Seleucid times, shew a return to a more native conception of the God of the city. In Fig. 5 Herakles stands naked and bearded as before, his raised right hand holding a three-branched plant, while the other grasps the double axe. Behind are slung his club and bow. He stands upon a horned lion with folded wings.<sup>85</sup> In the second example (Fig. 6), a God in Asiatic dress is upright upon the same beast, in an identical attitude, bearing the same tokens, but clothed in a short tunic and wearing a high cap.<sup>86</sup> This personage appears again in Fig. 7<sup>87</sup> in the scene generally called 'the burning of Sandas.'<sup>88</sup> Within a bird-surmounted triangular structure he takes the same attitude, upon the same beast, his right arm raised as before. Nowhere is his name inscribed, and the evidence of these coins would not be sufficient, taken alone, to put beside that of the Hittite text.

<sup>80</sup> Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, I, Chap. VI.

<sup>81</sup> Figs. 4 to 8.

<sup>82</sup> Cook, *Zew*, I, fig. 454.

<sup>83</sup> British Museum, *Coins of Lyconia, Iauria, Cilicia*, Pl. XXXI, 7, Rev.

<sup>84</sup> See Part II, i, C, above.

<sup>85</sup> Cook, *Zew*, I, fig. 463.

<sup>86</sup> B.M. *Coins of Lyconia, Iauria, Cilicia*, Pl. XXXII, 15, Rev. Raoul-Rochette, *l.c.* pl. IV, 8 shews a coin of Philadelphia in Lydia in which the God on the lion wears a pleated robe (? Sandys).

<sup>87</sup> Imhoof-Blumer, *JHS.* 1898, Pl. XIII, no. 1. From his own collection.

<sup>88</sup> See note 54 above.



B. *Literary Sources.* But fortunately various ancient writers have left unequivocal, though mostly late, confirmation of the identity of Herakles with Sandas. A passage in Syncellus' *Chronographia* quoted by Frazer<sup>89</sup> affirms that Herakles was known as Sandas among the Phoenicians, Cappadocians and Cilicians. In the existing text Σάνδαν is written Δισάνδαν, Δι being apparently an accidental repetition from the Δι of the preceding word γνωρίζεσθαι.<sup>90</sup> Fortunately, however, Nonnus has it clearly:<sup>91</sup> ὅθεν Κιλικίων ἐνὶ γαίῃ Σάνδης Ἡρακλῆς κυκλήσκειται. There is also the suggested derivation offered by Lydus<sup>92</sup> of the name Sandas (Sandon) from the woman's robe called Sandyx worn by Herakles in bondage to Omphale: ταύτῃ καὶ Σάνδων Ἡρακλῆς ἀνηνέχθη. As we have seen, this was a ritual garment, but whether or not the two words were really connected, the identification of 'Sandon' with Herakles was clear in the Lydian author's mind. But perhaps the strongest proof of identity lies in a fragment from Berossus, himself a priest, in the early third century B.C. of the temple of 'Bel' in Babylon: Σάνδην δὲ τὸν Ἡρακλέα.<sup>93</sup> It is quoted in a passage of Agathias, who mentions that the fact was known also to other writers on the antiquities



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.



FIG. 7.

FIGS. 5-7.—COINS OF TARBUS.

of the Assyrians and the Medes.<sup>94</sup> The identification is direct, therefore, at the western end, and the link Marduk-Sandas-Herakles holds firm.

C. *Passage to Europe.* Professor Götze in his newly published *Kleinasien*<sup>95</sup> suggests on the evidence of the Hittite texts that the Luvians, whom he affirms to have worshipped Sandas as their chief divinity, crossed the Aegean from S.W. Anatolia, bringing the place names with -vθ and -σσ roots, together with those 'Urfirnis' wares and their offspring the Vasiliki pottery whose migration to the islands and subsequent development, especially on the shores of Eastern Crete, was first established by Frankfort<sup>96</sup> on technical grounds. Götze shews these people<sup>97</sup> associated on the western mainland of Asia Minor with the Troy-Yortan culture and -nd and -s place names, the civilisation of Eastern Anatolia being Hittite

<sup>89</sup> Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 125, n. 3; the emendation suggested by Movers.

<sup>90</sup> Syncellus, *Chron.* I, p. 290: Ἡρακλῆς τιτὲς φασὶν ἐν Φοινίκῃ γνωρίζεσθαι (Δι)σάνδαν ἐπὶ λεγόμενον, διὰ καὶ μέγα ἔνν' ὑπὸ Καππαδοκίων καὶ Κιλικίων.

<sup>91</sup> Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, XXXIV, 192.

<sup>92</sup> Lydus, *de Magistr. Roman.* III, 64.

<sup>93</sup> Berossus, *Fragm.* p. 51, ed. Richter, quoted by Raoul-Rochette, *op. cit.* p. 187.

<sup>94</sup> Also Agathias, *de Reb. Justinian.* II, c. 24, p. 117, ed. Bonn: Σάνδην δὲ τὸν Ἡρακλέα : : ὡς ποιοῦν θηροσώφ' ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ καὶ Ἀθηναίῃ καὶ Συμῇ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχαῖστασι τοῖς Ἀσσυρίων τε καὶ Μήδων ἀντιγραφείοις.

<sup>95</sup> A. Götze, *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients*, III, 1, 1933, pp. 48, 53-60.

<sup>96</sup> Frankfort, *Studies in the Early Pottery of the Near East*, II, 1927, p. 90 f.

<sup>97</sup> Götze, *op. cit.* p. 54.



(*Alishar*, III.).<sup>98</sup> Thus he is able to name the young God who stands behind the Goddess on the Yazilikaya relief, not as Sandas, as was formerly supposed, but the storm-god of Nerik-Zippalanda,<sup>99</sup> son of the Sun-Goddess of Arinna and the Father Storm-God; a Hittite deity, in fact, of the line of Tishpak, the weather-god worshipped at Eshnunna, and shewn by Dr. Thorkild Jacobsen on philological evidence<sup>100</sup> to be identical with Teshub, while Sandas-Tammuz-Adonis has no father, and is the young consort of the dominant Goddess.

There then, it seems, is the cleavage in religion, language and habitat. Together with the Luvian culture, which was also the beginning of European civilisation, came Sandas, destined to shed his effeminate robes and most of his divinity, to dance the Olympian foot-race among the Kouretes from Minoan Crete, in order to win re-birth as an Hellenic hero.

Of his journey itself some memory perhaps remained in the association of the tale of Samson with the Philistine wars, for the 'Pulesti' depicted on the reliefs which celebrate the sea-victory of Rameses III are of Minoan type, and wear the body armour of the Enkomi ivories,<sup>101</sup> and the feathered head-dress which Herodotus says belonged to the Carians. Considered beside the pottery—of native clay but Aegean descent—from Philistine sites in Palestine, they suggest most strongly an origin in South-Western Asia Minor or the adjacent islands.

Samson was a Herakles who knew no Hydra, since for an Israelite hero there could be no apotheosis. Yet along that coast also the water-serpent 'made a path to shine after him,'<sup>102</sup> for the opening invocation of a Phoenician tablet from Ras Shamra which prophesies a divine victory,<sup>103</sup> gives the name of Leviathan to the god's serpent-adversary, 'the Mighty One with the seven heads,' using the same pair of adjectives by which Isaiah describes Leviathan in his prophecy of a similar conquest.<sup>104</sup>

As M. Viroilleaud observes, we may thus number the 'heads of Leviathan' broken in pieces in Psalm 74, v. 14. We may even surmise why the culminating experience in the trial of Job should be the terrible beauty of Leviathan, whose scales no weapon could pierce, whose fiery breath made the deep to boil, who was 'king over all the children of pride,' but not over the saviours of men.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Von der Osten-Schmidt, *Or. Inst. Communica-tions*, No. 11 (Chicago, 1931).

<sup>99</sup> Götz, *op. cit.* p. 134.

<sup>100</sup> Th. Jacobsen, *Or. Inst. Comm.*, No. 15, *Tell Amarna and Khafaje* (Chicago, 1931).

<sup>101</sup> This evidence is discussed in Prof. Garstang's *Jahnu-Julges*, pp. 311-15.

<sup>102</sup> Job 41, v. 32, of Leviathan.

<sup>103</sup> Syria, 1931, XII, pp. 356-357 (Viroilleaud, *Note complémentaire sur le poème de Môt et Aên*).

<sup>104</sup> Isaiah 27, v. 1: 'Leviathan, the piercing serpent, even Leviathan, that crooked serpent.'

<sup>105</sup> Job, whole of Chapter 41.



## HOMERIC WORDS IN CYPRUS

THE difficulty of transcribing words written in the Cypriote syllabary makes our acquaintance with the Cypriote dialect precarious and faulty, and in many cases leaves us uncertain about the exact form of a word, but in spite of this uncertainty it is clear that Cypriote, both in inscriptions and in glosses, shews in its vocabulary a notable similarity to the language of the Homeric poems. Inscriptions discovered since Hoffmann's day have enabled us to increase his already long list of such similarities (*Die Griechischen Dialekte*, I, pp. 278-283), and it is time to examine the evidence and see what bearing these have on the question of the nature of Homeric vocabulary. The problem presented by Homeric words in Cypriote is similar to that presented by their existence in Arcadian, but, though the meaning of Cypriote words is sometimes uncertain, Cyprus is richer in inscriptions than Arcadia and the ancient lexicographers and scholiasts have preserved a singularly large number of Cypriote glosses. The problem is simply stated: how far are we justified in believing that Homeric words in Cypriote are independent of the Homeric poems? Are they indigenous words, naturally used, or are they 'literary' imitations of a well-known poetical style, used for effect in defiance of local dialect usage?

### I.

We may first consider those cases where the Homeric and the Cypriote word are identical in form and usage. In most of these cases the independence of the Cypriote word can only be proved by individual circumstances, and each case must be judged impartially on its merits. The use in Cypriote of *ἀνασσα*, or more correctly *Φάνασσα*, is well established. On authority no less than that of Aristotle (*Κυπρίων Πολιτεία* quoted by Harpocration, *s.v.* *ἀνακτες και ἀνασσα*), we are told that in Cyprus the sisters and wives of a *βασιλεύς* were called *ἀνασσα*. On so good authority this statement is doubtless true, especially as the other statement made with it, that the king's sons and brothers were called *ἀνακτες*, fits well with our epigraphic evidence. But actually *ἀνασσα* is not found in inscriptions with this sense. It is, however, a good Cypriote word. Hoffmann 101, 3 gives τᾷς Φανάσ(σ)ας. So do 102, 2. 103, 4. 104, 2. and 105, 1, while 100 gives τᾷς ἀνάσ(σ)ας without the initial digamma. In every case but the last the digamma is preserved and in every case the title is a religious title of the Paphian Aphrodite. These cases are curiously parallel to the cases of *ἀνασσα* in the Homeric poems. Homer uses the word once in the *Iliad* and three times in the *Odyssey* (Ξ 326. γ 380. ζ 149, 175), and it reappears in the Homeric Hymns (II 75, 440, 492. XXXII 17). On all these occasions it refers to a goddess, to Demeter in the *Iliad*, to Athene in γ 380, to Demeter



in the Hymn addressed to her, to the Moon in Hymn XXXII, and to Nausicaa in 3 149 and 175, whom Odysseus mistakes or pretends to mistake for Artemis. In at least three of these places the metre shows that ἀνάσσα begins with a digamma (ζ 326. 3 149. Hymn XXXII 17). So the parallel to Cypriote usage is very close. This use of ἀνάσσα lasts till Aeschylus (*Eum.* 235. 443. 892) and Sophocles who use it of Athene (*Ajax* 774). Pindar uses it of his personified goddess of Truth (fr. 205) and Euripides of Athene (*Iph. Aul.* 434), Artemis (*Hipp.* 307) and Earth (*El.* 678). Later literature, however, also used it, as Homer did not, as a title of honour for human beings of royal rank or lineage (Isoc. 9. 72. Arist. fr. 526. Aesch. *Pers.* 155 and 173. Soph. *Trach.* 137. *El.* 666). Greek dialects do not shew much evidence of its use, but it occurs beyond the range of Homeric influence in the semi-barbarous dialect of Pamphylia. The long inscription from Sillyum (Schwyzer 686. l. 29) has the accusative ὠανάσα(ν), where the subsequent words καὶ Ἀπείλωνα shew that it must refer to a goddess, and a coin from Perga (Head, *Hist. Num.* 702) has the inscription ὠανάσας Πρεΐας, which is taken to mean Ἀρτέμιδος Περγαίας. The occurrence of the word in Pamphylian is important for establishing its independence in Cypriote. Its occurrence in two quite different and geographically separated dialects makes it probable that it was an indigenous word in either or in both.

The Idalian Bronze (Schwyzer 679. l. 3) gives βασιλεὺς Στασίκυπρος κὰς ἃ πτόλις Ἐδαλιῆτες ἀνῶγον Ὀνάσιλον κ.τ.λ.—'King Stasicyprus and the city of the Idalians ordered Onasilus, etc.' The word ἀνῶγον is presumably related to the perfect ἀνώγα itself and is a pluperfect form like δμώμοκον (Hoffmann 109, 6). The same word occurs throughout Homer in different forms (e.g. ἀνώγα K 120, ἀνώγας Z 383, ἀνώγε Λ 646, ἀνώγεμεν N 56, ἀνώχθι K 67). The influence of Homer may be responsible for its appearance in Hesiod (*Op.* 367, 403, 687. *Th.* 549. *Sc. Her.* 479), in Aeschylus (*Ch.* 735, 772. *Eum.* 902. *P.V.* 947, 1037.), in Sophocles (*O.T.* 96. *El.* 1458. *Phil.* 54, 100. *Trach.* 1247. *O.C.* 904, 1598), and in Euripides (*Or.* 119. *Alc.* 1044. etc.). It does not occur in ordinary Attic prose, though the Ionic Herodotus uses it (III 31 and 81. VII 101 and 104), but his vocabulary is so full of Homeric echoes that this may well be one of them. In Cypriote it looks indigenous both because of its complete adaptation to Cypriote form and because hitherto Cypriote has shown no other word meaning 'command,' differing in this from the kindred dialect of Arcadian, which uses κελεύω (*IG.* V<sup>2</sup>. 6, 15).

Homer, twenty-six times in the *Iliad* and seventeen times in the *Odyssey*, uses the word ἀρούρα, both in its singular and plural form. Its sense is clearly 'tilled or arable land.' After Homer the word has a long history, mainly poetical, appearing in Hesiod (*Op.* 117, 173, 237, etc.), Pindar (*O.* XII 19. *P.* IV 34. *P.* XI 15, etc.), Simonides (fr. 15), Aeschylus (*Pers.* 595. *Sept.* 754), Sophocles (*Trach.* 32. *Ajax* 1286) and Euripides (*Or.* 552. *H.F.* 369. *Rhes.* 75. *El.* 79). Its epic air doubtless accounts for its appearance in the hexameters at the end of Aristophanes' *Frogs* (1533 ποτρίοις ἐν ἀρούραις) and in the last stages of Plato's prose style (*Timaeus* 22e, 73c, 91d. *Laws* VIII 839a). It is noteworthy that Aristotle



uses it in his story of Periander—ἀφαιρουντα τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας τῶν σταχύων δμαλῦναι τὴν ἀρουραν (*Pol.* III 1284a 30), though here he may only be recounting the story in the form in which he found it. All these cases may well be considered as due to Homeric influence, as the authors in each case knew Homer and often used him. The same charge can hardly be levelled at its use by Sappho (*Lobel.* ε 5, 11 πολυανθέμοις ἀρούραις) in one of her vernacular poems, which, as Mr. Lobel has amply proved, are singularly free of literary influence and written in the every-day speech of Lesbos. So the word was probably indigenous to Lesbos:<sup>1</sup> so too in Cypriote. The Idalian Bronze (ll. 20–21) shows ‘kase to kapone to ni simitose arourai,’ i.e. κᾶς τὸ(ν) κᾶπον τὸν 1(ν) Σίμιδος ἀρούραι, which means ‘and the orchard in the arable land belonging to Simmis.’ This recalls such Homeric phrases as ἀνδρὸς μάκαρος κατ’ ἀρουραν (*Λ* 68), ἄλις δέ οἱ ἦσαν ἀρουραι πυροφόροι (*Ξ* 122–123) and τέλσον ἀρούρης (*Σ* 544). That the word was indigenous to Cyprus is proved by a curious entry in Hesychius, ἀρουρα σωρὸς σίτου σύν ἀχύροις. Κύπριοι. If ἀρουρα was a good Cypriote word for a heap of corn, its meaning must have been based on local usage.

In Ψ 160 a large body of manuscripts, supported by Aristarchus, read παρὰ δ’ οἱ ταγοὶ ἄμμι μενόντων. This is the only case of ταγός in Homer, but it may well be the right reading, despite the quantity of the first syllable. Hesychius seems to have recognised it in his entry ταγοὶ-προστάται, ἄρχοντες, ἡγεμόνες, and the change to οἱ τ’ ἄγοι is ascribed to Dionysius by Schol. Ven. ταγός is a good Cypriote word. We find on a pot of the early iron age, not later than the seventh century, the inscription ‘teropano to tako,’ i.e. Θηροφάνω τῷ ταγῷ (*Myres, Catalogue of the Cesnola Collection* 480. Hoffmann 179 reads Τηλεφάνω), and on a silver bowl, also of very early date, we find ‘iperipo tako,’ i.e. Ἰ(μ)περόπω ταγῷ (*Myres* 4557. Hoffmann 116). Possibly the same word occurs on a votive limestone ear (Hoffmann 170), where Hoffmann reads Ποίτω ταγῷ. Unfortunately we cannot tell from the scanty evidence whether ταγός possessed in Cypriote any special meaning to differentiate it from Φάναξ and βασιλεὺς, each of which had its own technical significance. Elsewhere in Greek the uses of ταγός fall into two classes. In the Tragedians it is used of any sort of leader (*Aesch. P.V.* 96. *Pers.* 23, 324. *Ag.* 110. *Soph. Ant.* 1054. *Eur. I.A.* 269). Its literary and tragic air makes it fit matter for parody by Aristophanes, who puts it on the lips of Demos in his welcome to the Sausage Seller in the *Knights* (159), –ὦ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ταγέ τῶν εὐδαίμωνων. In Thessaly, on the other hand, it had a definitely constitutional meaning, whether applied to the chief prince (*Xen. Hell.* VI 1, 8 and 18. *ib.* 4, 28, 32 and 35) or to the chief local authorities (*GDI.* 1332, 37 ταγοί, 345, 10 ταγοῦν, 345, 4 and 26 (letter of Philip) ταγοῖς, 345, 24 and 1329 Ia ταγεύοντων). The word seems to have survived also in the technical sense of the head-official of a phratry, as an inscription of the beginning of the fourth century, found near the Athenian Treasury at Delphi (Schwyzer

<sup>1</sup> It occurs too in Epirus in the sense of ‘plough-land’ (*GDI.* 1365.5), and Herodotus uses it of a

measure of land in Egypt (II 168: ἡ δὲ ἀρουρα ἑκατὸν πῆχυν ἴσθι Αἰγυπτίων πάντες).



323), in giving the rules of the phratry uses the word (l. 23) in τοὺς ταγούς μὴ δέκεσθαι κ.τ.λ. There is also a trace of its being used for some office in Macedon, as Hesychius has the entry ταγόνεγα Μακεδονική τις ἀρχή. The Homeric ταγός clearly belongs to the first of these classes and has no specialised meaning, but the Cypriote word cannot be fully determined. The probability is that, like *ῥάναξ* and *βασιλεύς*, it had its own shade of meaning, and in any case it cannot be an imitation of Homer, as Homer only used the word once, and such scantiness of usage would not conduce to the word being understood in a dialect where it was not already indigenous.

An inscription from Rantidi gives the words 'aitetu tumijata,' which its editor R. Meister takes with some probability (*Lpz. Ber.* 62, p. 243) to be αἶθετο θυμιάτῃ, 'the offerings were burned.' The form presents no difficulties, as αἶθετο is clearly the imperfect passive of αἶθω. The termination in -υ is common in Cypriote, which gives us forms like ἔφρετάσαστυ (*Idalian Bronze* 14) and γένοιστυ (*ib.* 29). It is clearly from the same verb as the participle αἰθόμενος which Homer commonly uses in one or the other of two senses, either of fire burning (Z 182, Θ 563, Κ 246 κ.τ.λ. πυρὸς αἰθόμενοις) or of material objects being burned, such as sacrificial victims (Λ 775, μ 362 ἐπ' αἰθόμενοις ἱεροῖσι.). This seems to be the only case in which Homer uses the word of being consumed by fire. This use is imitated, or paralleled, by Hesiod, *Op.* 755 ἱεροῖσιν ἐπ' αἰθόμενοις, and it finds an echo in Sophocles (*Phil.* 1033), θεοῖς αἶθειν ἱερά. But the ordinary use of the word in post-Homeric literature is the commoner Homeric use of fire burning. This is very common, though the use is not restricted any longer to the participle, and the present and imperfect indicative are used as well (e.g. *Soph. Ajax* 286, etc.). There are, however, a few cases where the word is used in the sense of 'consume by fire' and combined with objects other than sacrificial victims. Thus Herodotus uses it of bones being burned (IV 61) and Euripides of the conflagration of Pentheus' palace in the *Bacchae* (l. 624 δώματ' αἶθεσθαι δοκῶν). This is clearly an extension of its rarer Homeric use. The Cypriote use is exactly parallel to this rarer Homeric use, and differs both from the ordinary Homeric use of the word and from the later extended use. There seem two minor arguments in favour of its authenticity. First, if it is really an imitation of Homer, it seems improbable that the imitator would have used a tense, let alone a form, which Homer never used. Secondly, there is some slight evidence of the word existing in dialects other than Cypriote. The list of Γλωσσαι κατὰ Πόλεις (Bekker, *Anec. Graec.* III, p. 1095) has the entry Ἀμβρακιωτῶν. αἶθεται καίεται. If the word existed in Ambracia as well as in Cyprus, it is probably authentic in both dialects. We might add that so far as we know there is no other word in Cypriote for 'burn.'

Homer uses two aorists of κείρω, the form κείρασθαι (Υ 46, δ 198) and another form, with an internal σ, in the participle (ω 450 δοῦρ' ἐλάτης κέρσαντες) and the aorist indicative active (Κ 456 ἄμφω κέρσε τένοντας. Π 393 πρῶτας ἐπέκερσε φάλαγγας). In this form the word had a small history. Hesiod (*Sc. Her.* 419) uses the form ἀποκέρσε, Aeschylus in a



lyric passage uses the form *κερσάμενος* (*Pers.* 952), and the word may have been used elsewhere, as Hesychius has the entry *κέρσαι κόψαι, τεμείν, κείραι, γαλλίσαι*, implying more use of it than we now possess. But the usual form in Pindar and the Tragedians is *ἐκείρα*, which occurs too in Attic prose. In Cypriote, however, we find on an inscription from a grotto at Ktima these words, 'tarapase . . . epipasine to sepose tote . kerease apoloni ulatai,' i.e. *Τάρβας . . . ἐπίβασιν τὸ σπέος τόδε (ἐ)κερσε* 'Ἀπόλ(λ)ῶνι Ὑλάται—'Tarbas cut an entry to this cave in honour of Apollo Hylates.' The word *ἐκερσε* is, of course, the Homeric word. It is the only word we know for 'carve' or 'cut' in Cypriote, and it bears, moreover, a slightly different sense from the Homeric word, as the carving of the entrance to a cave is hardly the same sort of cutting as is required for wounding ankles or splitting logs of wood.

Both Homer and Hesiod commonly use the conjunction *αὐτάρ* either to mark a contrast or to emphasise a succession of details. In Cypriote inscriptions we find it certainly twice and probably four times. In Hoffmann 57 we read 'teo tase papijase e . . . autara me kateteke kesetotemise,' i.e. (τᾶς) θεῷ τᾶς Παφίης ἐ(μ)ί: αὐτάρ με κατέθηκε (Ἄ)καστόθεμις, in 60, 2. 'tase . . . o tase pa . . . autara mī kate . . . onasitemise,' i.e. τᾶς (θεῷ) τᾶς (Παφίης ἐμ)ί: αὐτάρ με κατέ(θ)ηκε Ὀνασίθεμις. These are two certain cases. Almost equally certain is the fragmentary 61, which begins 'tase teo tase,' i.e. τᾶς θεῷ τᾶς . . . , and goes on 'aitara me,' where, assuming the i to be a sculptor's mistake for u, we may read 'αὐτάρ με . . .' Another possible case is 66, which begins in the same way with a dedication to the Paphian goddess, though the edges of the stone are mutilated and it is not certain how it should go on, but before the name of the dedicator, we can clearly decipher 'tara me evexe,' which may be taken to be (αὐ)τάρ με ἔφεξε, 'but I was dedicated by . . .' Here then are more and less good examples of *αὐτάρ* in Cypriote inscriptions. In each case it is used, as so often in Homer, to mark a contrast (e.g. v 285-6 οἱ δ' ἐς Σιδουίην . . . οἴχοντ' αὐτάρ ἐγὼ λιτόμην ἀκαχημένος ἦτορ): here the contrast is between the goddess, to whom the dedication is made and whose name is given in the first line, and the man who makes the dedication whose name is given afterwards. *αὐτάρ*, so common in the Epic, hardly occurs at all elsewhere. An early metrical inscription (*IG. I<sup>2</sup>*. 1012) gives ἀφ' αὐτάρ, and the word was clearly regarded as a literary peculiarity, as Hermippus (fr. 63, 17) introduced it into his sham epic catalogue — αὐτάρ ἀπ' Εὐβοίας ἀπίους καὶ ἰφια μῆλα, and Aristophanes puts it into a bogus oracle in the *Birds* (l. 983) — αὐτάρ ἐπὶ ἄκλῆτος ἰὼν ἀνὴρ ὁπλὸς ἀλάζων κ.τ.λ. In fifth-century Athens it was a literary word, fit subject for parody. But in Cyprus it kept its ancient meaning of marking a contrast. In doing this it performed a function different from that of *ἰδέ*, which either introduced the conclusion of a condition or a new sentence, and from *κᾶς*, which acted as a conjunction between single words. It has then a proper function in Cypriote and may safely be acquitted of any charge of being imitated from Homer.



## 2.

In Cypriote, as in Arcadian, some words are found with meanings or forms slightly different from those they possess in the Homeric poems, and this slight difference is an argument in favour of the independence of the Cypriote words from influence by the Homeric poems. If the writer of these words in Cypriote had borrowed them from Homer merely to adorn his style and make it impressive, the probability is that he would have borrowed them with their correct Homeric form and construction. If they existed only in the Epic, it is highly unlikely that, in their altered form, they would have been understood by a public to whom they were not already familiar as existing in the vernacular. We may first consider those Cypriote words which differ in meaning from their Homeric counterparts.

In Cypriote dedicatory inscriptions we find a word ἀρά, Hoffmann 83, ' ara tii,' i.e. ἀρά Διι, 156, ' are a nao,' i.e. ἀρά ᾧ Νάω, 147, 2, ' toi apolono jara,' i.e. τῷ Ἀπόλ(λ)ωνι jαρά. As all these dedications occur on votive altars, the meaning of ἀρά is clearly 'vow.' Neither Homer nor Hesiod uses the word quite in this sense. Homer uses it in the sense of 'prayer' in O 378 ἀράων αἶων Νηληιάδαο γέροντος, 598-9 ἐξαίσιον ἀρῆν πάσαν ἐπικρῆναι, Ψ 199 ἀράων αἰούσα, ρ 496 εἰ γάρ ἐπ' ἀρῆσιν τέλος ἡμετέρησι γένοιτο. The sense of the word is made clear both by the context in each place and by entries like that of the Townleian Scholiast on O 598, ἀρῆν αἴτησιν, Hesychius' ἀρά· εὐχή, and Suidas' εὐχή· ἐπαγγελία θεῶ τῶν κατ' εὐσέβειαν ἀφιερουμένων. Hesiod uses the word in the same sense in *Op.* 726: so do Pindar (*Isthm.* VI 43), and Herodotus VI 63 ἀρῆν ἐποίησατο παῖδα γενέσθαι Ἀρίστωνι. But usually in post-Homeric literature it has the totally different meaning of 'curse.' This is common in Attic prose (e.g. Plato, *Critias* 119e, *Laws* 871b, 742b) and imprecatory inscriptions (e.g. *IG.* III 1417 sqq.). But the Cypriote meaning is slightly different from both of these.

Homer commonly uses ἀναξ in all its cases, singular and plural. In a great majority of the cases (as, for instance, in A 502 Κρονίωνα ἀνακτα) an initial digamma is required to obtain correct scansion, and in a large number of cases (as in E 546 ἀνδρεσσιν ἀνακτα) the initial digamma could be easily restored by the removal of the preceding νυ ἐφελευστικόν. The cases where the metre excludes the digamma altogether (as in ω 449 ποίησαν ἀνακτι) are far fewer both in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The form Φάναξ survives in inscriptions at Argos (Schwyzer 79, 1 τὸν Φανάξῳ) and on several early painted sherds found at Acrocorinth (Schwyzer 123, Φάνακτι). These cases are all early, and by the fifth century the archaic form had disappeared from most of Greece. In Cyprus, however, the existence of ἀναξ or Φάναξ is particularly well authenticated. Aristotle in his *Constitution of Cyprus* (quoted by Harpocration s.v. ἀνακτες καὶ ἀνασσαί) says that in Cyprus οἱ μὲν υἱοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καλοῦνται ἀνακτες, and Eustathius, perhaps drawing from the same source, says (ad N 582) καὶ τι δὲ, φασί, τάγμα ἑνδοξόν ἐν Κύπρῳ ἀνακτες ἑκαλοῦντο, πρὸς οὓς ἀνεφέρετο ἐκάστης ἡμέρας πρὸς τῶν ὠπακουσούντων,



ὅτι ἂν ἀκούωσιν. The existence of the word is confirmed by inscriptions, in which, as late as the fourth century, it keeps the initial digamma. Hoffmann 69, 1 has 'o vanaxe satasijase satasikarateose,' i.e. ὁ Φάναξ (ὁ) Στασικράτης, and the difficult metrical inscription, Hoffman 144, 1, certainly has 'vanaxe,' i.e. Φάναξ, in its first line. In these two cases it is impossible to say if Φάναξ has the special meaning given to it by Aristotle, but in a marble inscription from Idalium (Hoffmann 134) we find 'tonatirijatane tote katesetase o vanaxe,' i.e. τὸν ἀνδριῶνταν τὸ(ν)δε κατέστασε ὁ Φάναξ. Here we have the full context and it is clear that Baalram, the son of Abdimilkon, who sets up the inscription, is of inferior rank as Φάναξ to the βασιλεὺς, Milcijathon, by whose reign he dates his inscription (c. 388 B.C.). So here perhaps may be epigraphic support of Aristotle's statement, in so far as Φάναξ has a different meaning from βασιλεὺς, whatever the precise difference may be. In Homer there is no distinction at all between the two words. Not only is the same person called by the two titles in different places (e.g. Agamemnon is ἀναξ in A 7 but βασιλεὺς in A 231), but the two words are combined and applied to the same person in υ 194, βασιλῆι ἀνακτι, and there can be no doubt that, so far as meaning is concerned, they are interchangeable. So, by establishing a difference of status between the two titles, Cypriote definitely is in disagreement from Homer.

Homer uses commonly the conjunction ἰδὲ in the sense of 'and,' to connect either single words or phrases or sentences. Outside Homer the word is not often found, though Hesiod is fond of it, and it always seems to be a Homeric poetical word, when it occurs in the Elegists or once in a chorus of Sophocles (*Ant.* 969). There seems to be no foundation for the statement made by the Scholiast on Opp. *Hal.* I 12 that τὸ ἡδὲ Ἀττικῶς μὲν διὰ τοῦ η, Ἰωνικῶς δὲ διὰ τοῦ ι. Outside the Epic and its followers there is no evidence for ἰδὲ in Ionic. In Cypriote, however, it is found with special functions of its own. It introduces either the conclusion of a condition or a new sentence. Both examples are exemplified in the Idalian Bronze, the first in l. 12 'eke sise . . . exe toi koroi exeoruxe itepai o exeoruxe, etc.,' i.e. ἰ καὶ σις . . . ἐξ τοῖς κοροῖς ἐξ ὀρύξε ἰδὲ παῖ ὁ ἐξ ὀρύξε, πείσει κ.τ.λ., 'if anyone digs in the place, then indeed for what he digs he shall pay, etc.' In l. 26 this use recurs, where practically the same form of words is repeated. The other use of ἰδὲ occurs in l. 26, 'ite tatalatone tate . . . pasileuse kase a potolisekatetijane,' i.e. ἰδὲ τὰ(ν) δάλτον τὰ(ν)δε . . . βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡ πόλις κατέθιαν—'this tablet was set up . . . by the King and the city.' Here ἰδὲ introduces a new idea in a new sentence. Neither of these two uses of ἰδὲ is the same as its use in Homer as a mere conjunction, and both are too specialised to be imitations from his use.

Homer uses some forms derived from a vanished present in ἀλευόμενον (E 28), ἀλευόμενος (O 223, Π 711, Υ 281, ι 277), ἀλευόμενος (E 444), ἀλεύατο (Γ 360, Η 254, Λ 360, Ξ 462, υ 300), ἀλεύαντο (Η 254, Λ 360, Ξ 462, υ 300, χ 260), ἀλεύασθαι (μ 159, 269, 274), ἀλεύεται (ξ 400, ω 29). The sense is always 'avoid' or 'shun.' This middle use is continued by Hesiod (*Op.* 505, 535, 798, etc.) and Theognis



(400 ἀλευόμενος) and is doubtless a Homericism. We find, however, the active, unhomeric ἀλεύω occasionally in later verse. Aeschylus uses the forms ἀλευε (*P.V.* 567), ἀλεύσατε (*Sept.* 87), and ἀλευσον (*Sept.* 141. *Supp.* 528), in the sense of 'remove, keep far away.' The same use appears in Sophocles fr. 993 (ἀλεύσω; cf. Hesychius ἀλεύσων ἀντὶ τοῦ φυλάξων). This rare active form appears in Cypriote. On an alabaster vase, now lost (Hoffmann 161), appeared the words 'vetoko alevotese koo tatepevasa,' i.e. *Ἐθέχο(ς) ἄλέφοντες χά(ν) τά(ν)δ' ἐπέφασαν*, which means something like '(someone and) Vethochos escaping (or departing) dedicated this vase.' Unfortunately we do not know the exact meaning of ἄλέφοντες, and we cannot be certain whether Hoffmann is right in translating 'bei ihrer Abreise.' But from the context it seems to differ from the late, rare use in being intransitive, from the Homeric use in being active, and from the Homeric form in keeping its internal digamma.

In another case Cypriote uses the middle of a verb of which Homer uses the active. The verb χραύω is used by Homer of 'wound slightly,' of a shepherd wounding a lion (*E* 138 χραύσῃ μὲν τ' αὐλῆς ὑπεράλμενον οὐδὲ δαμάσῃ). Its meaning is given by Hesychius as χραύσῃ καταξύσῃ, and by Schol. Ven. as ξύσῃ, ψαύσῃ and θίξῃ διὰ τὴν ἐπιπολαίαν πληγὴν. It hardly occurs outside Homer, though Herodotus uses a compound form in a description of the violence of Cleomenes (*VI* 75), ὅπως τεῶ ἐντύχοι Σπαρτητέων, ἐνέχραυε ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ σκῆπτρον. In Cypriote, however, the word has a different sense. In the Idalian Bronze (l. 9) we find 'tono toi elei tokarauomenone okatose alavo,' i.e. *τὸν ἰ(ν) τοῖ ἔλει τὸ(ν) χραυόμενον Ὀγκαντος ἄλφο*, 'the field in the marsh adjoining the plantation of Oncas.' We need not be disturbed because in the same inscription a little later (l. 18) we find the same word in the form χραυζόμενον. Cypriote often formed familiar verbal roots into terminations in -ζω, if we may judge from well-authenticated forms like βριμάζει (Hesychius), δαματρίζειν (Hesychius) and καλήζω (Herodian I 144). In essentials the word is the same as the Homeric χραύω, differing slightly in form and meaning.

The Idalian Bronze also gives 'tone ijaterane,' i.e. *τὸν ἱατέρων*, 'the doctor.' This is the Homeric ἱητήρ in its Cypriote form, showing j before α and an accusative in -αν. For the first we may compare in the same inscription l. 18 πεδίῃαι, l. 20 ἱερέφιῃαν, l. 29 ἀνοσίῃα, and for the second the accusative ἀνδριάνταν (134, 2. 140, 1). Homer uses the form ἱητήρ (*Δ* 190) with an accusative ἱητῆρα (*ρ* 384, Hymn XVI 1). Outside Homer the word is comparatively uncommon, though used by Pindar (*Pyth.* III 65) and Sophocles (*Trach.* 1209), who probably got it from the Epic. In Cypriote its form and declension indicate that it is indigenous.

## 3.

Important evidence on the independence of Cypriote-Homeric words is to be found in their occurrence in other dialects. Thus some of them occur also in Arcadian, and I have tried elsewhere (*CQ.* XX, pp. 173-



175] to prove that this occurrence in dialects geographically so separated points to the words being indigenous both to Arcadian and to Cypriote. This holds good of αἶσα, βόλομαι, δῶρα and εὐχολά, and there is no need to recapitulate here the arguments about them.<sup>2</sup> Arcadian, however, is not the only dialect which presents similarities to Cypriote in this respect. We find Cypriote-Homeric words also in Cretan.

In historical times we do not find much evidence for intercourse between Crete and Cyprus; in his ethnology of Cyprus Herodotus finds Cypriote origins in Athens, Cythnus, Arcadia, Phoenicia and Aethiopia (VII 90), but does not mention Crete. But in prehistoric and heroic times there is more evidence for intercourse. So it is not surprising that Cypriote and Cretan should show linguistic affinities as well as cultural and racial. In both Zeus has the title Φαλχάνιος; he is called Φαλχάνιος in a Cypriote inscription from Athienou (Meister, *Lpz. Ber.* 62. p. 234), and in Crete Hesychius knew of Φαλχάνος, ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Κρησίν, and the coins of Phaestus have the inscription Φαλχάνος (Head, *Hist. Num.* 401). Other than Homeric words, not found elsewhere, are found both in Crete and Cyprus. Thus ἀγλαός, in the sense of γλαφυρός, was, according to Hesychius, found in both islands, and ἀκεύω in the sense of τηρῶ is reported as Cypriote by Hesychius and guaranteed as Cretan by its use in the Gortyn Code II 17, ἀκεύοντος καδεστᾶ. These slight similarities between the two dialects point to some natural linguistic affinity, and lead us to approach without hostility the few Cypriote-Homeric words which are found also in Cretan.

The Homeric λαῶς, 'stone,' is a familiar word in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The Scholiast on A 10 says, quite correctly, λαῶς δὲ κατὰ διάλεκτον οἱ λίθοι λέγονται, and his word is borne out by inscriptions. In Cyprus we find the nominative λάο(ς) on an inscription from Drimu (Hoffmann 93), which reads 'kyporokorativose emi o lao,' i.e. ΚυπροκράτιΦος ἐμὶ ὁ λάο(ς), 'I am the stone of Cyprocrates.' The word is hardly used in later literature, though Sophocles uses the form λάου in his *Oedipus at Colonus* (198 ἐπ' ἄκρου λάου βραχὺς ὀκλάσας), and there is some evidence for the survival of the word in the lyrics. Corinna (Berlin, *Klass. Texte*, V. ii. p. 28) wrote, as Mr. J. U. Powell has shown (*JPh.* XXXIII. pp. 296-7), ἐμ μου(ρί)δεσσι λάου—'amid an avalanche of stones,' and Simonides (*Ox. Pap.* VIII. no. 1087, l. 39) seems to have written ξύλα καὶ λάους ἐπιβάλλων. In Cretan we find the word at least twice in the genitive λάω (*Laus of Gortyn*, X 36, XI 12, ἀπὸ τῷ λάω); so there is some epigraphic justification for the entry in the Γλῶσσαι κατὰ Πόλεις of Κρήτων, λαῶς λίθος. In Attic

<sup>2</sup> We may add to the list of Homeric words common to Arcadian and Cypriote the adjective οἶος, 'alone,' which is vouchsafed for Arcadian by the list of Γλῶσσαι κατὰ Πόλεις, in the entry Ἀρεῶδων. οἶος μόνος. The word is common in Homer, where it has precisely the same meaning as μόνος, and the Hesiodic poems. Afterwards its appearances are scanty. Pindar uses it three times (*P.* I 93, *O.* I 73, fr. 93, 1), Aeschylus once in the form οἶος (*Ag.* 131), Sophocles twice (*Aj.* 750, fr. 23) and

Euripides once (*Herakl.* 743). It does not occur in literary or in epigraphic prose, and is doubtless a poetical word. In Cyprus, however, we find it in the Idalian Bronze (l. 14), which gives 'kase oimiloi oinoi aneu tokasinetose,' i.e. ἐκας Ὀνομίλοι οἶνω δύν(ν) κασιπνῆδον, 'to Onomiloi alone without his brothers.' It is thus Cypriote of a good date, and indigenous because of its use also in Arcadian.



too we find a dative plural λέσει (*CIG.* 4650, 5724), but the Attic form with its different declension occurs only in verse, and belongs to a separate tradition from the Cretan and Cypriote.

The Homeric form πτόλεμος (*Z* 328, *M* 436, etc.) is probably a good Cypriote word. We do not find it in inscriptions, but Eustathius on *Λ* 255, quoting Heraclides as his authority, says that it is Κυπρίων καὶ Ἀττικῶν λέξις. Of its use in Attic there is not a shred of evidence, and attempts have been made to emend to Ἀρκάδων. But even Arcadia shows no traces of its existence. So we might be inclined to question its existence in Cypriote, if Heraclides did not say in the same passage that πτόλις too was a Cypriote form, a statement abundantly confirmed by the inscriptions. In view of this, we may well believe his word that πτόλεμος is genuinely Cypriote. It occurs elsewhere only in Crete, in an oath formula (*CIG.* 2554, l. 197), οὔτε ἐν πτολέμῳ οὔτε ἐν εἰ(ρ)άνῃ.<sup>3</sup> The form πτόλις, quoted by the same authority, is a common form in Homer, occurring sixteen times in the *Iliad* and fourteen times in the *Odyssey*. It recurs in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite (l. 20), but not in Hesiod or the Tragedians, though Pindar uses the Homeric πτολίσθρον (fr. 76 on Athens) and πτολίπορθος (*Ol.* VIII 35). Its literary and artificial character is shewn by its occurring in the pseudo-Sapphic poem on Hector and Andromache (Lobel β 2, 12 φάμα δ' ἤλθε κατὰ πτόλιν), which is almost certainly the work of an Athenian imitator; elsewhere in Lesbian πόλις is the regular form. In Cypriote it is genuine beyond dispute. In addition to the statement of Heraclides, we have the word of the Townleian Scholia, on Ψ 1, πτόλιν πόλιν. Κυπρίων τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι λέξις, and its occurrence in the Idalian Bronze, in the nominative five times (*Il.* 4, 7, 15, 16, 27), in the accusative πτόλιν (l. 1) and the dative πτόλιφι (l. 6). Traces of the word can be found in Arcadian and Cretan. In Arcadian the normal form is πόλις (*IG.* V<sup>2</sup>. 443, 6, etc.), but we can see the older form in the archaic name of Mantinea which survived in Pausanias' day as Πτόλις (Paus. 8, 3, 4 ὀνομάζουσι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ Πτόλιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες. *ib.* 8, 12, 7 καλεῖται δὲ τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐφ' ἡμῶν Πτόλις), and perhaps the form survives in a metrical inscription of the third century from Megalopolis (*IG.* V<sup>2</sup>. 373, 2 ἐνὶ πτόλ(ι).). In Crete it survives only in the title πτολίοικος, found on a silver stater from Aptera (Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 386).

Homer presents us with an aorist form ἔρξα and a future form ἔρξω, presumably from a present ἔργω. It is clear from one case where he uses the word that originally it possessed an initial digamma. Metric reveals this in *E* 650, εὐ ἔρξαντα, where the hiatus shows that something has dropped out. But in other places Homer neglects the initial digamma, and presents us with cases like ἀλλὰ μάλ' ᾧδ' ἔρξαι (*ε* 342), ὅσσ' ἔρξαν (*θ* 490), ἀλλὰ μάλ' ᾧδ' ἔρξω (*ε* 360). This inconsistency in the use of the digamma indicates that it was early neglected, and this is what we find on inscriptions. It survives only in Cyprus and the oldest inscriptions of Crete: even in Hesiod it has totally disappeared (*Op.* 708 κακὸν ἔρξης. 710 ἧε καὶ ἔρξας. 327 κακὸν ἔρξη). In Cyprus, however, we find (Hoff-

<sup>3</sup> The reading is not certain. Cf. Deiters (P.), *De Cretens. titulis publicis*, Jena, 1904.



mann 146) 'memanamenoι euvερεkesiase tasa pai eu pote everexa,' i.e. μεμναμένοι εὐεργεσίας τῶς παι εὖ ποτε ἔφερξα, 'remembering the kindness which once I did.' Here, in ἔφερξα, is the properly augmented form of the Homeric ἐρξα. The only other place where this form occurs with the initial digamma is in Crete. There we find in the Laws of Gortyn (X 30) αἱ δὲ τις τοῦτον τι φέρκσαι, 'if anyone does any of these things,' and in another early inscription from Gortyn we find (Schwyzer 175, 7) αἱ δ' οἱ τίται μὲ φέρκσιεν αἱ ἔγρα(τ)ται, 'if the authorities do not do what is written.' The occurrence of the word in Cretan at so early a date points to it being indigenous there, as it must also be in Cyprus.

## 4.

We must now consider a small group of words, found both in Homer and in Cypriote with practically the same form, use and meaning. In consequence of this identity it is hard to say that they are not imitations from Homer. Their authenticity is a matter of more doubt than that of the cases we have so far examined, and their chief claim to be thought indigenous must rest on their being the only words bearing their particular meaning in Cypriote. This is, of course, a precarious claim, as the growth of our knowledge of Cypriote may discover other words with the same meaning but with a better claim to be thought genuine Cypriote.

Homer often uses πόσις in the sense of 'husband' (e.g. Γ 329 Ἑλένης πόσις ἠυκόμοιο etc.), and his use of it extends to Pindar (*O.* II 85, *N.* X 80, *P.* IV 87, etc.), Aeschylus (*Sept.* 930, *Pers.* 221, *Ag.* 600, 1108, 1405), Sophocles (*O.T.* 459, 639, 934, *Ant.* 906, 1196, *Tr.* 185, 285, 550) and Euripides (*Hel.* 422, 919, *Or.* 588 etc.). It clearly was thought, at least in the fifth century, a poetical word, and as such Aristophanes makes use of it in the *Thesmophoriazusae* where Mnesilochus three times uses it in his mock-tragic colloquy with Euripides, and says (l. 866) ὁ δ' ἐμός πόσις οὐμός Μενέλαος οὐδέπω προσέρχεται, or (l. 901) προδοῦσα Μενελέων τὸν ἐμόν ἐν Τροίᾳ πόσιν, or (l. 914) λαβέ με λαβέ με, πόσι, περίβαλε δὲ χέρας. In the fourth century, however, it seems, like other poetical words, to have passed into prose. Aristotle at least used it more than once (*Pol.* I 3, 1. VII 16, 18). Even then, however, it is eschewed by Plato and the orators. In dialect inscriptions it occurs nowhere outside Cyprus, but in Cyprus it occurs in an inscription from Drimu, which gives us 'ὁ μοι ποσις onasitimose tisonidase,' i.e. ὁ μοι πόσις Ὀνασίτιμος Τισωνίδας. We know of no other word for 'husband' in Cypriote, and on our present evidence πόσις may well be the regular word.

In Arcadian it is extremely doubtful whether ἄμαρ is the regular word for 'day,' but in Cypriote it may well be. It occurs twice on the ostrakon from the Temple of Zeus Epikoinios at the Cyprian Salamis, published by R. Meister (*Lpz. Abh.* 27, 301-332). Here we find (VI 2) the words 'to veteose ta amata,' i.e. τὸ φέτος τὰ ἄματα, and (VII 1) 'to veteose amati amati,' i.e. τὸ φέτος ἄματι ἄματι. This differs from the hackneyed Arcadian ἅματα πάντα, and in Cypriote, unlike Arcadian, there seems to be no ἡμέρα. In addition to the phrase ἡματα πάντα, Homer



uses most other cases of ἡμεῖς. So it is no surprise to find it in the tragedians, or in the pseudo-Aeolic elegiacs of Balbilla (*GDI*. 323, 7 εἰκόστῳ πέμπτῳ δ' ἄμασι μῆνος Ἄθυσ). But its absence from inscriptions makes its appearance in Cypriote all the more remarkable, and it quite possible that it is indigenous there.

Arcadian uses the enclitic νυ quite differently from Homer. In Cypriote also we find νυ, but its use seems to be the same as Homer's. In Homer νυ strengthens a verb; so too in Cypriote, as in the Idalian Bronze *Γ*. 6 εἰ δὲ δουράνοι νυ, and *Γ*. 16 εἰ δόκοι νυ. This is the use of Homer, and it is also the use of Boeotian, where we find νύ with an imperative on an inscription from Orchomenus (Schwyzer 523, 165) κῆ τῇ οὐπερᾶμερὶν νυ ἐνθω. In Cypriote it is also found with the present indicative (Schwyzer 683, 6), 'itanukeitui,' i.e. ἰνθα νυ κείναι. Elsewhere it does not seem to be found. At present it is impossible to form any opinion on its authenticity.

κασίγνητος is found often both in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. From Homer it found its way into literature, into Pindar (*O.* VII 27. *N.* X 85, etc.), Aeschylus (*P.* V 347. *Sept.* 632. *Ag.* 327), Sophocles (*O.C.* 1184, etc.), and Euripides (*Or.* 73, etc.). But in Attic at least it was not a prose word, and Aristophanes (*Thesm.* 900) puts it, like πόσις, on the pseudo-tragic lips of Mnesilochus—οὐ γὰρ γαμοῦμαι σὺ κασίγνήτῳ ποτέ. In some other dialects it seems authentic enough. It is well established in Lesbian both in a vernacular poem of Sappho (Lobel, α, 3. 2, <τὸν κασίγνητον δότε τυῖδ' ἴκεσθαι) and in a fourth-century inscription from Eresus (Schwyzer 632 D 19, ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀπολλοδώρειων παιδῶν καὶ τῶν κασίγνητων). In the form κατίγνητος, it may occur in Thessalian (*IG.* IX 2.894 κατίγν(ειτος)), and some of the *Iliad* Scholia assert dubiously that it is also Ionic (Schol. Ven. B ad O 545 ἐπὶ γὰρ παρ' Ἰώσι τοὺς συγγενεῖς κασίγνητους φασὶ καλεῖσθαι). So too Eustathius *ad. loc.* In Cypriote the word is often found, whether in the dative singular (76, 2 'toῖ kasi-kenetoi,' i.e. τοῖ κασίγνητοι), the nominative plural (106, 3 'kase oi kasikenetoi,' i.e. κὰς οἱ κασίγνητοι. 246 . . sikeneto, i.e. (κα)σίγνητοι), the accusative plural (135, 3 and 11 'tose kasikenetose,' i.e. τὸς κασίγνητος), the genitive plural (135, 14 'tokasikenetone,' i.e. τῶ(ν) κασίγνητῶν), and the dative plural (135, 5, 7, 12 'toise kasikenetoise,' i.e. τοῖς κασίγνητοις). To these we can now add, from Arsinoe (Meister, *Lpz. Abh.* 27, 316 ff), the feminine form also, in the dative singular, 'tai kasinetai,' i.e. ταῖ κασινέται. The great frequency of the word in Cypriote, combined with the absence of any use of ἀδελφός, makes it fairly certain that κασίγνητος is the regular Cypriote word for 'brother,' and κασίγνητη the regular Cypriote word for 'sister.'

Homer often uses the word σπέος, whether to describe the home of Poseidon (*N* 32) or Thetis (*Σ* 50, 65) under the sea, or of caves on land like that into which a goatherd takes his flock in a storm (*Δ* 279), or Calypso's (*ε* 57, 63, 77) or Scylla's (*μ* 84) or the Cyclops' (*ι* 182), or the Cave of the Nymphs on Ithaca (*ν* 549). Hesiod too uses the word of the subterranean cavern in which Echidna dwells (*Theog.* 301). Homer makes no distinction of meaning between it and οὐτρον, and doubtless



Hesychius is right when he explains the word as σπηλαίου, ἄντρον. After Homer the word is extremely rare. Neither Pindar nor the Tragedians use it, and its only early appearance is in the peculiar dative plural σπεύσσει, as if from a nominative σπέος, which Herodian (π.μ.λ. p. 30) says was used by Xenophanes. So it is surprising that the word should occur twice in Cypriote. On a grotto at Ktima we find carved the words ' . . . sine to sepeose,' i.e. (ἐπι)βάσιν τὸ σπέος (Hoffmann 98, 2) and 'epipasine to sepeose,' i.e. ἐπίβασιν τὸ σπέος (Hoffmann 99, 2). The exact transliteration is not clear, but the word is clearly a genitive singular. Hoffmann takes it as σπηός. If this is correct, the Cypriote form differs from the Homeric, whose only extant genitive is σπείους. In any case, σπέος is the only extant word for 'cave' in Cypriote.

## 5.

If the Homeric words in Cypriote inscriptions may be regarded as indigenous to Cyprus, it is not unreasonable to expect some element of genuineness in the Homeric words which our literary sources state to be Cypriote. But the question here is of a different character. Before we can decide whether such words are indigenous or not, we have first to decide whether the authorities which quote them are in the least trustworthy. In a very few cases, such as the Homeric Scholiast's quotation of πτόλις, the inscriptions prove the genuineness of the gloss, and such cases have already been considered. But the subject-matter of inscriptions is very limited, and overlaps only at a few points the enormous variety of subjects treated by the Homeric poems. So it is inevitable that we should have Cypriote glosses whose meaning makes their appearance in inscriptions highly improbable. In the absence of such epigraphic support, we can only consider the different authorities in turn and try to decide from their general character whether their word can be trusted or not.

Hesychius is so valuable a source and so useful in all matters of lexicography connected with Greek dialects, that his word carries great weight and, short of inscriptions, is our best authority in most matters of dialect vocabulary. His work, as we possess it, is unfortunately not the original book. The result is that he does not give us as much information as we might have hoped, but what he gives is both well substantiated and remarkable in that the Cypriote words quoted are never identical with their Homeric counterparts, but either they are slightly different in form or else they are such as to explain the meaning of some obscure Homeric words. For our purposes, this difference is important, as it proves the genuine Cypriote character of the words quoted. Thus he has an entry κατ' ἐρ' ἐζεαι καθέζει, Πάφιοι. This is like the Homeric phrases κατ' ἄρ' ἐζετο (A 68, 101, etc.), but its Cypriote character is indubitable. It is supported by the entry in the Γλῶσσαι κατὰ Πόλεις of Κυπρίων, ἐζε καθίσου, and it displays two regular Cypriote characteristics. The presence of ε instead of α in ἐρ' is perhaps paralleled by a similar vowel gradation in the use of Τιμοκρέτης instead of Τιμοκράτης (Hoffmann 76, 1, 129), and the tmesis ἐρ' . . . ἐζεαι is paralleled by πὸς . . . ἔηκε



(Hoffmann 161, 2). So, on linguistic grounds, the phrase is good Cypriote. If this is so, we may well add from Hesychius two entries, not ascribed to any dialect but shewn by their form to be Cypriote, κατ' ἐρ' ἐξεο' καθέζου and κατ' ἐρ' ἐξετο' καθέζετο. Again Hesychius' entry μοχοί' εντος, Πάφιοι is clearly connected with the Homeric use of μυχῶ as a local preposition in phrases like μυχῶ Ἀργεος (Z 152, γ 263), μυχῶ κλισίης (I 659, ω 675), μυχῶ θαλάμοιο (P 36), μυχῶ θαλάμων (Ψ 41), μυχῶ δόμου (X 440, γ 402, δ 304), μυχῶ ἀντροῦ (ν 363, ω 6) and μυχῶ σπείους (ε 226). The presence of ο instead of υ in μοχοί is well paralleled in other Cypriote words, such as θαράνας for θυράνδε, εὐτρόσσεσθαι for ἐπιτρώσσεσθαι, and μοττοφαγία for μυττοφαγία.

Again, Hesychius gives us ἐράτοθεν ἀνεπαύσαντο. He does not say that the word is Cypriote, but almost certainly it is the Cypriote form of the Homeric ἐρήτυθεν (B 99, 211). Cypriote, as we have seen, has υ for ο. So ἐράτοθεν is almost certainly the Cypriote version of ἐρήτυθεν. The use of α, where Ionic used η, finds its parallels in a dialect which has ζάει for πνεῖ and ἰατῆρ for ἡτῆρ.

The same argument applies to two more glosses, πέπυσμαι ἀκήκοα and σμογερόν σκληρόν, ἐπιβουλον, μοχθηρόν. The first is clearly the Homeric πέπυσμαι (λ 595), in its Cypriote form with ο for υ, and the second is clearly connected with the Homeric adverb ἐπισμυγερώς (γ 195, δ 672), which Homer uses only in the compounded form. Hesychius also gives us a Cypriote word in his entry μῦθος φωνή. Κύπριοι. Homer often uses μῦθος in the sense of word or 'speech' (A 25, etc.), but though it is used in this sense by poets, it only passed into prose in its special Platonic sense of 'myth.' The Cypriote form in -α is paralleled by other cases, like βρούκα for βροῦκος and βάλλαι for βηλόι.<sup>4</sup> In all these cases the Cypriote word varies in form from the Homeric, and may for that reason be counted as regular Cypriote.

In other cases Hesychius gives us words which do not themselves appear in Homer but are clearly related to words which do appear. Some help us to give a meaning to a Homeric word which would otherwise remain obscure. Thus he presents us with ἀκοστή κριθή παρὰ Κυπρίοις, which gives the only intelligible clue to the meaning of ἀκοστήσας in the Homeric similes of the stalled horse let loose in Z 506 and O 263 - ὥς δ' ὅτε τις στατός ἵππος ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτνῃ κ.τ.λ. In his entry he quotes two opinions, one that it means κριθιάσας, the other, the opinion of the γλωσσογράφοι, that the word is derived ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκος λαμβάνειν. This second, nonsensical view, so characteristic of ancient philology, is repeated by the Schol. Ven A and by Eustathius. Clearly the first view is right. A stalled horse, fed on barley, is naturally full of high spirits and a fit object of comparison to the young Paris enjoying his youth and armour. ἀκοστή in the sense of 'barley' is not quoted outside Cypriote, though Eustathius (ad Z 506) says, οἱ παλαιοὶ φασὶ καὶ πᾶσας τὰς τροφὰς παρὰ Θεσσαλοῖς ἀκοστὰς λέγεσθαι. In Cypriote then ἀκοστή kept a sense which it had lost in Thessalian, and gives us an inevitable interpretation of the

<sup>4</sup> Hoffmann 109.



Homeric ἀκοστήσας. The evidence of Hesychius is supported for this meaning by the entry in Lex. Seg. in Bekker's *Anecd. Graec.* p. 213 ἀγοσται· κριθαὶ ὑπὸ Κυπρίων· καὶ τὸ ἀγοστήσας ἔκκριθιάσας οἷον ὑψαυχενίσας, and by the Scholiast's ἀκοστήσαι τὸ πολυκριθῆσαι ἦγαν κριθιάσαι. ἀκοσται γὰρ αἱ κριθαί.

The entry οὖναι· Κύπριοι δρόμον gives, as Bergk saw, the real clue to the meaning of the epithet ἐριούνιος (Y 72, ω 457) applied to Hermes. He is the fast traveller, a suitable enough epithet for the messenger of the Gods. The root of the word is an old one, occurring too in the dialect of Arcadia in the imperative οὖναι which Hesychius explains as δεῦρο, δρόμε. Ἀρκάδες. It had too some existence elsewhere, to judge by the entries οὖνης· κλέπτης and οὖνιος· δρομεύς, κλέπτης, though unfortunately we have no dialect ascription for either.

In the vexed line T 87 some of the manuscripts give a variant reading of εἰαροπῶτις for ἡεροφοῖτις, Ἐρινύς. Hesychius has a number of glosses to enlighten us as to the meaning, of which the chief are εἰαρ· αἶμα, εἰαροπότης· αἱμοπότης, ἱαρ· αἶμα, ἱαροπότης· αἱμοπότης. He does not actually give it as Cypriote, but clearly he is drawing from the same source as the Scholiad T 87, who says οἱ δὲ εἰαροπῶτις ἐγκειμένον τοῦ εἰαρ ὅπερ ἐστὶ κατὰ Σαλαμίνιους αἶμα. Whatever the original reading was, the alternative εἰαροπῶτις must have been of considerable antiquity to embody in itself so rare a word as εἰαρ. The 'blood-sucking' fury has a more authentic air than the fury 'who walks in the darkness.' Hesychius has three entries, ἀπόγεμε· ἀφέλε. Κύπριοι, γένου· Κύπριοι. καὶ λάβε and ὕγγεμος· συλλαβή. Σαλαμίνιοι. These imply some verb like γέμω, which presumably is also the present of the Homeric γέντο (Θ 43, N 25, 241, Σ 476), interpreted by the Schol. Ven. ad Θ 43 as ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔλαβεν. Clearly the root of the two classes of words is the same, whatever the present indicative may have been. The genuineness of the word in Cypriote is shewn by the form ὕγγεμος for σύγγεμος. Initial σ seems often to have become h in Cypriote if we may judge by such forms as ἱγα for σίγα, ὕριγγα for σύριγγα, and ἀγάναν for σαγήνην, all definitely given by Hesychius as Cypriote.

So far then as Hesychius is concerned, it seems fairly safe to say that his quotations are genuine Cypriote, either because they are so different from the Homeric words as to be independent or because they have only their roots in common with the Homeric words which they explain or resemble.

## 6.

The list of Γλῶσσαι κατὰ Πόλεις, printed from an Urbino codex in Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, III pp. 1094-1096, is harder to judge than Hesychius. Its origin is unknown. In a few cases its evidence has been confirmed by inscriptions, as for instance in its entry Ἀρκάδων . . . λεύσσει· ὄρᾱ, for which we have now the authority of IG. V<sup>2</sup>. 16, 10. This confirmation may dispose us well towards the list, and, in addition to this, it looks as if the compiler had used either an early edition of Hesychius or else one of the sources which Hesychius himself used. Hesychius not



only gives all the Cypriote words which the Γλῶσσαι gives, but in many cases he gives both the same form of the word and an identical explanation of its meaning. This identity may be seen in the cases of ἀλαός· τυφλός, δέπας· ποτήριον, πέδιλα· ὑποδήματα, φάσγανον· ξίφος, and χθών· γῆ. In some other cases the Γλῶσσαι gives the same explanation as Hesychius, but in a slightly different form, quoting a different case for a noun or adjective or a different tense for a verb. Thus it gives ἀλοχος· γυνή, ἐμαρψεν· ἔλαβεν, ἰζει· κάθισον, and ταρβεί· φοβείται, while Hesychius gives ἀλόχου· γυναικὸς γαμετῆς, ἐμαρψα· κατέλαβον, ἰζει· καθίζει and ταρβήσαντες· φοβήθεντες. These differences are only superficial and are due doubtless to both the compilers using fuller books of reference than have survived to our day. In some other respects the two lists are rather more different. First, Hesychius sometimes, as in ποτήριον παρὰ τὸ δέχεσθαι τὸ πῶμα, gives a derivation whereas the Γλῶσσαι is a mere vocabulary. Secondly, in none of these words does Hesychius give any ascription to a dialect, whereas the Γλῶσσαι is avowedly an attempt to do so. But both these differences do not so much point to a difference of origin as to both compilers using the same extensive source. What this source was, it is impossible to say. This explanation would cover a third difference. In some words the two compilers differ in their choice of words to give the meaning. Thus the Γλῶσσαι gives ἀλγος· ὀδυνή, ἡβαιόν· ὀλιγόν, θής· λάτρεις, while Hesychius gives ἄλγος· πόνος, πένθος, ἡβαιόν· μικρόν, and θής· δοῦλος, μισθωτός. These differences, such as they are, are not so great as to outweigh the positive evidence for common origin in the appearance of every Cypriote word of the Γλῶσσαι without exception in Hesychius. If then this common origin or interdependence of the two can be reasonably taken as proved, we may with the more confidence go on to see if there is any evidence for any of the words in the list being thought to be genuine Cypriote and not mere literary usage. Here we are faced with an almost insoluble problem. The words are chosen entirely because they are used by Homer, and all superficial differences are removed. Moreover, we have hardly any other examples of their use outside Homer, and are so debarred from pressing any argument from analogy in other dialects. But in certain cases we can find indications which point to some of the words being indigenous. Thus the entry ὀζει· κάθισον has the strong support of the indubitably Cypriote form κατ' ἔρ' ἔζει, though the compiler has adapted the Cypriote form to suit the Cretan usage. The entry ἰός· βέλος may find support in the use of ἰός in this sense in a Cretan inscription (*GDI*, IV, p. 1038 nr. 20), which gives ὁστι(ς) ἀποστερι(δδ)οι τῶν ἰῶν, and, as we have seen, this may be evidence for its being authentic in Cyprus. The entries πέδιλα· ὑποδήματα and ἐμαρψεν· ἔλαβεν both have parallels in Aeolic. For the first we may quote *Etymologicum Magnum* πέδιλλα λέγουσιν οἱ Αἰολεῖς, and for the second Hesychius' καμάρψαι· καταλαβεῖν, where the form shews the word to be Aeolic, and his κάμιαρψις· μέτρον σιτικόν. Αἰολεῖς. Aeolic is, of course, a literary dialect, and the appearance of a Homeric word in it does not mean that it is free from literary influence, but, as in both these cases the words are adapted to Aeolic usage, in the double λ in πέδιλλα and the shortened form of καμάρψαι,



they look like genuine words there; moreover, *ἐμάρψε* appears in a vernacular poem of Sappho (S.1.21). So if it is native in Aeolic, it may well be in Cypriote. Beyond this our evidence does not permit us to go, and we may only indulge the probability that, as the few words which can be tested may well be genuine, the rest may also be founded on some reasonable evidence, even if some others, like *ἰζε*, have had their forms adapted from Cypriote to Homeric formation.

## 7.

The next group of glosses to be considered are contained in the Homeric commentators, whether the Scholia or Eustathius. They may conveniently be taken together, because on more than one occasion their language is identical, and it is certain that they drew from the same sources, whatever those sources may have been. They are certainly not always negligible, as once at least, in their ascription of *πτόλις* to Cyprus, inscriptions have confirmed their words. The problem they present is like that presented by the *Γλῶσσαι κατὰ Πόλεις*, and their genuineness must be tested by similar means.

In the first place, they bear many similarities to Hesychius and their excellent character is witnessed by him. Thus *à propos* of the binding of Ares by Otos and Ephialtes (E 387) – *χαλκίῳ δ' ἐν κέραμῳ δέετο τρισκαὶ δεκά μηνάς* – the Scholiast D and Eustathius agree that one of the meanings of *κέραμος* is *δεσμωτήριον* in Cypriote. This statement is repeated in different forms by the Lex. Seg. in Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, I p. 202, by the *Etymologicum Magnum* and by Theon, *Progymnasmata* (ed. Spengel, II p. 129, 27). All these writers assert the word to be Cypriote. So there must have been some commonly recognised authority who said that it was. Hesychius gives no dialect ascription to the word, but among the meanings of *κέραμος* he gives *δεσμωτήριον*. So he may well be quoting from the same familiar source. What the source was we do not know, and the nearest clue to any identity is Eustathius' designation of it as *ἄλλοι*. The Townleian Scholiast and Eustathius on N 563 agree that *μεγαίρειν* is a word from the Cyprian Salamis. The Scholiast gives its meaning as *φθονεῖν* (*μεγαίρειν δὲ τὸ φθονεῖν Σαλαμῖνιοι λέγουσιν*), which is the word used by Hesychius in his entry *μεγαίρειν φθονεῖν*. Here too identity of explanation may mean that all drew from the same source.

Secondly, Hesychius substantiates by other quotations the Cypriote use of the termination – *μωρος* in the sense of 'sharp.' Homer uses *ἰόμωροι* (Δ 242, Ξ 479), *ὕλακόμωροι* (Ξ 29, π 4) and *ἐγχεσίμωροι* (B 692, 840. H 134, γ 188), and in all these words the termination – *μωρος* was disputed in antiquity. The explanation 'sharp' is well authenticated, dating back to Aristarchus (Schol. ad Ξ 29 on *ὕλακόμωροι*). Its Cypriote provenance is given by Schol. BT on Ξ 479 (*μόρον γὰρ τὸ ὀξύ Κύπριοι*) and by Eustathius, who are probably drawing straight from Aristarchus. Hesychius knew the word in his entries *μωρόν ὀξύ*, *ὕλακόμωροι*, *ὀξύφωνοι* and *ἰόμωροι* – *ἰοὺς ὀξεῖς ἔχοντες*, which he too may owe to Alexandrian learning. On X 441 (*ἐν δὲ θρόνῳ ποικίλ' ἔπασσε*) both Scholiasts ABT and Eusta-



thus say that πάσσειν is a Cypriote word meaning ποικίλλειν. Here again Hesychius draws from the same source, since though he gives no dialect ascription, he gives the same explanation as the Scholiasts in his entry πάσσε = ἐνεποίκιλλε. The slight difference in using the compound ἐνεποίκιλλε instead of the uncompounded form is no evidence for his using a different source, as Eustathius himself a little later uses the words ἐνεποίκιλλε τῇ δίπλακι.

Unfortunately not all these glosses can rest securely under the safe protection of Hesychius. A few remain, whose only title to consideration is that they may well be quoted from unknown authorities equally reputable, and that they make sense of passages which may not otherwise be explained. The most notable is the entry of Schol. BT and Eustathius on the adjective ἀμυχθαλόεσσον in Ω 753, which is described as meaning κατὰ Κυπρίους εὐδαίμονα. Fortunately Eustathius gives a hint of his authority whom he calls οἱ παλαιοί, meaning doubtless somebody old and trustworthy. This explanation is not known to Hesychius, who explains conventionally as ἀπρὸς ὁρμιστος ἐκ θαλάσσης καὶ δὺς ὁρμος, or to the other authorities quoted by the Scholiasts, who see in the word a variety of ὀμυχλώδης. The first meaning cannot be right as Lemnos was in no way harbourless in Homer's geography. It was as well provided with anchorages then as it is now. Otherwise Achilles would hardly have sold his captives to its king, Evenus (Φ 40-1). The notion of an inaccessible Lemnos is due to a misinterpretation of Sophocles' dramatic isolation of Philoctetes on a corner of the island which was βροτοῖς ἄστιπτος οὐδ' οἰκουμένη. Nor is it clear how the word can be connected with ὀμυχλή, as Cypriote, far from using α for ο, more often uses ο for α. So perhaps there is good reason for trusting the 'ancients' as Eustathius calls them and taking the word to mean 'fortunate.'

Rather a similar case is that of the word τάφος, which the Scholiast T and Eustathius take to mean φόνος in Ψ 29, αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσι τάφον μενοεικέα δαίνυ. Unfortunately in this passage it cannot mean φόνος, and is much more likely to mean funeral feast, as Hesychius (τάφος τό γιγνόμενον περίδειπνον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν κατοικομένων τιμῇ) and Scholiasts AB (A. τὸ δειπνὸν περὶ τὴν ταφὴν γιγνόμενον. B. τὴν μετὰ τὸν τάφον εὐωχίαν) would have us believe. Eustathius gives οἱ γλωσσογράφοι as his authority, and presumably they had some reason for their statement. The explanation fits in well with λ 416 and ω 87, πολέων τάφω ἀνδρῶν ἀντεβόλησας, where τάφω cannot mean 'funeral-feast' and may well mean 'slaughter,' as the context refers to the killing of men in battle, when burial is not the question. Our quoters seem to have looked at a list of glosses and made the wrong use of their information.

On Φ 329 (μή μιν ἀποέρσειε μέγας ποταμὸς βαθυδίνης) Schol. AT say, οἱ ἀποέρσειε, Κυπρίων ἡ λέξις. Not so Eustathius, who says it is derived from the Aeolic ἔρσω for ἔρρω. Unfortunately the Scholiasts give no interpretation of the word, and it is impossible to say whether they used the same source as Hesychius, who gives ἀπόερσε ἀπέπνιξε. It is hard to see how any derivation from ἔρρω can make sense, and the Cypriote origin is perfectly possible, but more than that we cannot say.



Even more tantalising is the explanation given by Schol. AB on P 51, the famous κόραι Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοίαι, where the usual interpretation is that of Eustathius - Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοίαι, ἀντὶ τοῦ τοιαῦται οἷας ἔχοιεν αἱ Χάριτες. The Scholiasts, however, quite disagree with this, and say, Μακεδόνες καὶ Κύπριοι χάριτας λέγουσι τὰς συνειστραμμένας καὶ οὐλας μυρίνας, ὥς φαμεν στεφανίτιδας. Hesychius knows nothing of such a meaning for χάριτες, so the Scholiasts must be drawing on some source not used by him. Whatever the source was, the explanation certainly helps to make good sense in a difficult passage. The ordinary solution is to take Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοίαι as a compendious comparison. The use is not unknown in Homer, who certainly has it in β 121 ὁμοία νοήματα Πηνελόπειη. But if we feel uneasy about it here, we have Zenodotus on our side, who hoped to solve the difficulty by emending to μελαίναι. If we take χαρίτεσσιν in the sense of tight ringlets like bundles, it suits the context excellently, as in the following line the hair of Euphorbus is described as πλοχμοὶ θ' οἱ χρυσῷ τὲ καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἐσφῆκοντο.

The last case takes us on to more certain ground. In describing the wall of the Achaean camp in M 29 Homer speaks of the foundations being made φιτρῶν καὶ λάων, and on the passage Schol. T and Eustathius say that the words come from the Cyprian Amathus. Eustathius adds that his authority are οἱ παλαιοί. This in itself is good evidence, but λάων, as we have seen, is authenticated by Cyprian inscriptions. So the genuineness of φιτρῶν is practically certain, since it comes from a reputable source.

We may now rapidly consider how far these words, assuming their use in Cyprus to be comparatively well substantiated, may be thought to be indigenous. The evidence is scanty, but not impossibly so. Thus the termination -μωρός seems genuine, because in Cypriote it occurs in an uncompounded form and in Homer always in a compounded form: so it clearly cannot be an imitation. Χάριτες, our authorities say, occurred in Macedonian as well as in Cypriote, and κέραμος in Boeotian. It seems unlikely that words, used in so peculiar a sense, should occur in such remote dialects, unless they were natural to both. Of the remainder, ἀμιχθαλόεις and πάσσω are so rare in Homer that it would be worth no one's while to imitate them, if he wished to be intelligible, and the special sense of φόνος would only create confusion in a district where it possessed its ordinary meaning of 'slaughter.' The other two, μεγαίρειν and ἀποέρσειε, are slightly more common and therefore more open to suspicion, though Homer uses the first only four times and the second only three times. Here again their rareness in Homer is an argument for their indigenous character in Cyprus.

## 8.

It remains to consider a few scattered glosses of well-established character in various authors. The first may claim Aristotle as its authority. According to Schol. on Pindar, *Pyth.* II 127, he said that in Cypriote the Pyrrhic dance, πυρρίχη, was called πρόλις. This word is clearly



connected with the Homeric use of the masculine plural *πρῦλεες*, which Homer uses (Λ 49, Μ 77, etc.) in the sense of 'men-at-arms,' but the two words are so different in form and meaning that the only connexion which can be claimed for them is that of a common ancestry. In another case our authority is the Scholiast on Theocr. II 59, who says that by *θρόνα* the Thessalians meant τὰ πεποικιλμένα ζῶα and the Cyprians τὰ ἀνθινὰ ἱμάτια. This is clearly connected with the Homeric word *θρόνα* used in the description of the embroidery woven by Andromache in X 441:

δίπλακα πορφυρέην ἐν δὲ θρόνα ποικίλ' ἔπασσε.

though here *θρόνα* cannot mean exactly τὰ ἀνθινὰ ἱμάτια. Hesychius, however, has an entry, showing that he knew the source of the Scholiast's quotation and giving an intelligible meaning to *θρόνα*, viz. *θρόνα· ἀνθη· καὶ τὰ ἐκ χρωμάτων ποικίλματα*. This meaning makes excellent sense and may well be right. The Cypriote meaning for *ἀνθη* is then a development of the meaning quoted by Hesychius, and used probably by Homer, and, since it is so different, it cannot be plagiarised but must be a natural development of an older use.

The last of these casual cases comes from Athenaeus (XI 483 ff.), who quotes one Simaristus as saying that the word *κύπελλον* was used both by the Cypriotes and the Cretans; by the former in the sense of 'two-handled cup,' by the latter in the sense of both 'two-handled cup' and 'four-handled cup' (Σιμάριστος δὲ τὸ δίωτον ποτήριον Κυπρίου, τὰ δὲ δίωτον καὶ τετράωτον Κρητῶν). Homer often uses *κύπελλον* (Α 396, Γ 248, Δ 346, Ι 666, Ω 305, α 142, β 396, δ 58, κ 357, υ 253). We have no final evidence about the number of handles possessed by the Homeric *κύπελλον*. Hesychius indeed seems to have thought that it had none (*κύπελλον· εἶδος ποτηρίου ἁώτου*). Perhaps his opinion was based on its being distinguished from the familiar *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον*, whose name implies two handles. But such a distinction is not substantiated by Homer's usage. In at least two places, what is plainly the same vessel is called both *κύπελλον* and *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον*. Thus the cup in which Hephaestus pledges Hera has both names (Α 584 and 595), and so have the cups in the house of Odysseus (υ 153 and 253). In these places at least the Homeric word bore the same meaning as the Cypriote and Cretan words. Its Cypriote use is confirmed also by Anicetus (quoted by Eustathius ad ο 120, λέγει δὲ Κύπριοι οὕτω φασὶ τὸ δίωτον ποτήριον). Outside the glossographers the word has little history. Neither Pindar nor the Tragedians use it, but it has some life in hexameter poetry and was used by Antimachus (fr. 20), Nicander of Colophon (fr. 140) and Quintus of Smyrna (VI 345). Ion of Chios too used it in a choric part of his 'Omphale' (fr. 20), ἴτ' ἐκπορεύετ' ἀνδρῶν, κόπτεσθαι καὶ μεσοφάλους. In such passages it clearly comes straight from Homer. Athenaeus has so few quotations in his discussion of the word, that it cannot have been in the least common, and anyhow its appearance in both Cypriote and Cretan argues, as we have seen, for its being indigenous in both dialects.



We possess then in Cypriote a considerable number of words either similar or related to words used in the Homeric poems. On the whole, these words seem, for different reasons, not to be imitations of the Homeric counterparts as we possess them. The precise importance of their existence in Cypriote cannot yet be estimated, but it points to a high antiquity for some elements in Homer's vocabulary. Cyprus maintained in historic times a dialect of more archaic character than that of any other district in Greece. Cyprus too lay outside the main currents of racial or tribal movements which confounded other Greek dialects. It maintained till a late date the customs of the heroic age, and it traced its Greek colonisation back to a period soon after the siege of Troy. It would be too much to claim that Cypriote was the descendant of the language talked by the Achaeans of Homer, but it certainly was reasonably free of Attic and Ionic influences. Its close connexion with Arcadian shews that it was once part of a more united language, and this language may have provided some of the enormous vocabulary of Homer.

C. M. BOWRA.



## NOTES

**CIG. 3304 Revised.**—The third word of the guild title  $\sigma\upsilon\mu\phi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \sigma\upsilon\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , in a well-known inscription (CIG. 3304) presumably found at or near Smyrna, has remained a riddle ever since the publication of *Marmora Oxoniensia* (1763).<sup>1</sup> The reason probably is that any suspicion felt as to the correctness of the text would have been completely lulled by its

reproduced in *CIG.*, contains no mistake. Careful examination, however, shews this not to be the case; the revised reading of the inscription is as follows: <sup>2</sup>

Ἐπειτα ἀποβιβάσαντες τὸ πλοῖον ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἦλθον εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Περικλέους καὶ ἐπαύσαντο ἐκεῖ. ὁ δὲ Περικλῆς ἀνέστη καὶ εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ ἦλθεν.

(ATTN: CIG)

συντηρηθῆσαν : CIG)



FIG. 1.—INSCRIPTION AT OXFORD.

apparent legibility: even actual inspection might leave on a visitor to the Ashmolean Museum the impression that Chandler's copy,

3. **Συμάρτα** προσπαχορί-  
ων διεξίει χιολί τῷ ἡρώδῃ· εἰ-  
ς τὴν πατρὶς βασιλείᾳ εἰς  
ἐκεῖ τὸ ἐξήσεται· ὅπου  
τῆς συν(ε)ργασίας.

(Сокращенно: *CIG*.)

(£ engraved for £).

<sup>1</sup> The word *συντινάδω*, with or without capital Σ, is found in Roehl's *GIG. Index* x; Stephani's *Theaurus*; J. P. Walzing, *Étude hist. sur les esp. prof.* iii, no. 149; E. Ziebarth, *Gr. Veriano*, p. 113, n. 1; F. Poland, *Gesch. d. gr. Veriano*, p. 118, n. 1 and *RE*: (Paully-Wissowa-Kroll) s.v. *Συντινάδω* and *Συντινάδω*, where he calls it "das unverständliche *Συντινάδω*"; 2 R. Hbd. vii, 1170 (1931).

<sup>3</sup> Slab of coarse marble in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; height 0.27 m.; width of upper part 0.355, of lower part 0.34; thickness 0.005; height of letters 0.015 to 0.02. Parts of the surface are worn as if by attrition, but the text, which Mr. M. N. Tod has kindly verified, is certain. Photographed by kind permission of the Keeper.



\* Epaphroditus, son of Hapalus the son of Perigenes, built for the Fellowship of the Flax-workers a vault situated on the right hand of those approaching the tomb. Anyone who has at any time been admitted to that guild may by it be laid there.<sup>1</sup>

Ll. 1-2: Ἀπόλου may well be an error for Ἀπτολου; but the π is clear and the name Ἀπόλος, from the adjective ἀπλός, seems normal; cf. Ἰάρος, Ἰάρος,<sup>2</sup> etc. Its rarity, however, compared to the frequent occurrence of Ἀπτολος, makes one suspect a blunder, as in l. 9, either in the cutting or in the original copy.

L. 4: στυπιδέων seems to be the genitive plural of στυπιδής, a word otherwise unknown. But, since it relates to a trade-guild (ἐργασία l. 9), we may take it to be one of the many, terms ending in -ας which denoted various kinds of dealer or artisan.<sup>3</sup> The stem στυπι- points to the adjective στυπίσιμος ('made of στυπίσιον'), from which in popular parlance the ι might have been dropped by dissimilation.<sup>4</sup> While we have no evidence that the word στυπίσιον was used in Asia Minor, the likelihood of such use is suggested by the fact that in the papyri στυπίσιος (= στυπίσιον) is actually less common than its shorter equivalent στυπίσιον.<sup>5</sup> Assuming that this omission of the ι sometimes occurred also in the *Völkssprache* of Asia Minor, we may provisionally regard στυπίσιον as a term probably employed there, and στυπιδής as connoting a maker of or dealer in στυπίσιον, i.e. goods of that material. Since there was a guild of λυκοπυλὸν at Thyateira (IG. 3304) and choice hunting-nets were made of λίνου Σαρδηνίου (Pollux, v, 26), one can hardly doubt that flax (λίνον) and coarse flax (στυπίσιον) figured in the trade and industry of Smyrna, whither part of the Sardian output

must have been brought down the Hermus valley.<sup>6</sup> The precise meaning of στυπιδής remains uncertain; we cannot tell whether it stands for στυπιδεποιός or στυπιδεπλόκος or στυπιδεπλάτης or some other compound word.<sup>7</sup> But we shall hardly be far astray if we understand στυπιδέων τῶν στυπιδέων to mean a guild of the 'makers' or 'weavers' or 'sellers' of stuff or articles such as cloth, cordage, nets and garments, made of coarse flax or tow (στυπίσιον).<sup>8</sup>

Ll. 6-7: δ . . . δοκιμάσθι. The disappearance of δοκιμάσθι makes the clause grammatical and shows that the guild investigated the qualifications of candidates for membership.<sup>9</sup> The three final words are to be construed both with δοκιμάσθι and with γινώσκω; thus the phrase δ τῆς πρὸς δοκιμάσθι . . . πρὸς τῆς συνεργασίας corresponds to that in IG. vii, 2808 b. 9: [δ] ἐν τῇ δοκιμάσθι πρὸς τῆς γινώσκω. The term δοκιμασία may denote either one of the two stages in the choice of a member: (a) the preliminary inquiry as to fitness,<sup>10</sup> or (b) the approval by the society's vote of a candidate who had passed that test.<sup>11</sup> Of these meanings the latter is obviously intended here, and in the translation 'admitted' must be understood to imply the completion of both stages. Among all the many inscriptions relating to the artisans' guilds of the Greek-speaking provinces, this is the only one that by the use of δοκιμάζω testifies to the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also, at Ephesus, the λυκοπυλόν and the κανοφόρεον εἰς τὴν Ἀρτέμιδιον στοά; J. Keil, *ÖJh.* xxiv, 1929, Beibl. 31-2. P. Wahrmann (*Glotta*, xxi, 1933, pp. 42 f.) interprets κανοφόρεον as *λυκοφόρεον*.

<sup>2</sup> On this uncertainty, cf. the authorities cited in note 4, especially Hatzidakis.

<sup>3</sup> In Pauly-Wissowa *RE.* vi, 2456, Olck cites various garments made of στυπίσιον cloth and also στυπίσιον ἔργασια. In the list given by Th. Reil (*Beitr. z. Kenntnis d. Gewerbes im hell. Ägypten*, pp. 116-122) of textile wares mentioned in the papyri a neuter adjective occasionally appears as a technical term; e.g. ἀσθινόν, ἀσταλινόν, βεντες are names of textiles. Possibly στυπίσιον was similarly used as the name of some special cloth or article of clothing and, if so, στυπιδής would have been a maker or seller of this.

<sup>4</sup> E. Polak (*Gesch. d. gr. Verweise*, p. 505) understands δοκιμάζω here as meaning 'to inquire concerning the right to burial,' but this interpretation seems far-fetched, since the verb was the technical term for 'to admit' (a member).

<sup>5</sup> Conducted no doubt by officials of the society, as in IG. ii<sup>2</sup>, 1369, 34-6.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. in IG. ii<sup>2</sup>, 1368, 32-7.

<sup>1</sup> For this name see *Sardis*, vii, 1, 137.

<sup>2</sup> On these descriptive titles in -ας, with gen. sing. -άδος and nom. plur. -άδες, cf. Hatzidakis, *Einführung in d. neue. Grammatik*, p. 183; K. Dieterich, *Untersuch. z. Gesch. d. gr. Sprache* (Bz. *Archiv*, i), pp. 165 f.; Olsson, *Ägypten*, vi, 1925, p. 247; Keil-Wilhelm, *AMM.* iv, 470, 628.

<sup>3</sup> In texts of this type vulgarisms are not unusual; e.g. χορχουαδόος, gen. of χορχουαδός; *Ath. Mitt.* vi, 1881, p. 142. The change of Στ- to Σ- is explained by W. Schulze, *G. gel. Anz.* 1896, pp. 247 f.; E. Nachmann, *Beitr. z. Kunde d. alter. Völkssprache* (Slr. *hum. Völkssprache Samf. Uppsala*, xlii, 1910), pp. 15-16.

<sup>4</sup> Preisigke *Wb.* gives five citations of στυπίσιον, στίσιον, στίσιον, to nine of στίσιον; of derivatives he has four with στυπι- to two with στυπ-.



practice of examining candidates before their admission to membership.

LI. 7-8: εἰς ἑαυτὸν. The adverb is here used as a noun, that is in lieu of τῇ συνόδῳ. Compare *BCH.* xxiv, 1900, p. 425, no. 140: χάρις θύο, ἐν τῇ κοινότητι καὶ τῷ ᾄδει (see also *Jahresber. d. kl. Altertumswiss.*, 1934, p. 145), and on boundary-stones the use of τῷ ᾄδει; *Sordis*, vii, 1, no. 191. W. H. BUCKLER.

**The Date of Dicaeopolis' Rural Dionysia.**—According to Hesychius<sup>1</sup> and Theophrastus<sup>2</sup> the Dionysia κατ' ἄγρους were celebrated in Poseideon. This date is confirmed by an inscription from the deme of Myrrhinous.<sup>3</sup> On this evidence the festival celebrated by Dicaeopolis in *The Acharnians* of Aristophanes is universally placed in this month, and the ritual performed by him and his family taken as a source for the reconstruction of the ritual programme of the winter Rural Dionysia.

It is now generally recognised that there were also spring rural festivals of Dionysus in the Attic demes, festivals closely related in ritual and conception to the Athenian Anthesteria.<sup>4</sup> But it seems not to have been noticed that the Dionysia κατ' ἄγρους in *The Acharnians* may have been one of these spring festivals.

Dicaeopolis attends the assembly, makes a private peace with Sparta, celebrates the Rural Dionysia, pacifies the chorus, quarrels with Lamachus, and announces his plan for a private market, all in the same day. He then leaves the stage during the parabasis. He returns immediately after the parabasis with his ὑπαράνομοι, marks out the boundaries of his agora, and proclaims market rules. He then goes off stage to get the στήλη on which is inscribed his private treaty with Sparta. He intends to erect it in the agora. It is apparent that he is opening his market for the first time. He has dealings with a Megarian and a Boeotian. Then a servant of Lamachus enters, and we hear that the Chores is at hand. The rest of the play is concerned with preparations for and celebration of this festival. From the play itself the reader

gets the distinct impression that the Anthesteria follows close upon the heels of the Rural Dionysia. Certainly it is rather startling to be told that the parabasis covers a lapse of two months.

A comedy is, of course, not a logical structure. Furthermore, the continuity between the parts of an Aristophanic comedy before and after the parabasis is notoriously faulty.<sup>5</sup> But for that very reason it is remarkable that Aristophanes goes out of his way in this play to maintain temporal continuity in spite of the convenient parabasis. He obviously intends to create the dramatic illusion that a very short time, not more than a few days, has intervened between Dicaeopolis' announcement of his plan for a market and the carrying out of this plan.

But if the Dionysia celebrated by Dicaeopolis was really the Dionysia κατ' ἄγρους in Poseideon, and its identity and date were perfectly clear to the Athenian audience, it would have been futile to try to create such an illusion. The audience might be willing and able to telescope imaginatively the intervening two months, if it were just a matter of two months. It should be remembered, however, that *The Acharnians* was produced at the Lenaea, the principal festal event during this particular two-months period between the winter Rural Dionysia and the Anthesteria. Surely it would have been too much to ask the spectators to telescope the festal days they were then enjoying out of existence!

Is it not far more probable, since spring rural festivals of Dionysus existed in Attica, that Aristophanes had in mind a spring festival in the deme of Cholleidai, at which the first-fruits of the new wine were offered locally just before the more imposing ceremonies in the city, and two or three weeks after the Lenaea?

It may be objected to this hypothesis that, even though there were spring festivals of Dionysus in the demes, they were not τὰ κατ' ἄγρους Διονύσια, this name designating only the winter festivals in Poseideon (as τὰ ἐν ἄστει designates only the spring City Dionysia). Farnell seems to take this position,<sup>6</sup> apparently for no better reason than that he can thus account for the statement in Hesychius. But Hesychius really presents no difficulty. It is very probable that he (or his source) had in mind, not all Rural Dionysia nor even all winter Rural Dionysia, but specifically certain outstanding Rural Dionysia in Poseideon which rivalled the city

<sup>1</sup> Διονύσια κατὰ τὴν Ἀθήνην Διονύσιον ἄγρον, τὰ μὲν κατ' ἄγρους μηνὸς Ποσειδεώνος, τὰ δὲ Ἀθήνην μηνὸς Ἀργαιώνος, τὰ δὲ ἐν ἄστει Ἐλευθεριώνος.

<sup>2</sup> *Character* 3.

<sup>3</sup> *GIA.* 2, 578.

<sup>4</sup> Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, V, 205-7; Nilsson, *Die Anthesterien und die Aiora*, *Eranos*, XV, 181ff; Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*, 31, note c.

<sup>5</sup> A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy, and Comedy*, 296-7.

<sup>6</sup> *Cults*, V, 206.



festivals in brilliance. The passage in Theophrastus almost certainly refers to these more elaborate rural festivals. It is not improbable that Hesychius (or his source) had in mind one particular Rural Dionysia, that at Peiraeus. It should be noticed that he groups τὰ κατ' ἄγροισι with the Lenaea and the City Dionysia as festivals at Athens. The error is understandable if τὰ κατ' ἄγροισι means the festival at Peiraeus. It may have been colloquial to distinguish the popular spectacles at Peiraeus and elsewhere outside the city from the great spectacles in the city (the Lenaea and the City Dionysia) by the phrase τὰ κατ' ἄγροισι; but that would not mean that the simpler, more rustic festivals of the rural demes, whether celebrated in winter or in spring, were not also called colloquially Dionysia κατ' ἄγροισι.

The question raised is of some importance. Aristophanes tells us in *The Acharnians* just about all we know concerning the ritual of the Attic Rural Dionysia. In the past it has been the custom to reconstruct the ritual of the *winter* festivals from gleanings and inferences from this play, and to admit almost complete ignorance of the ritual of the *spring* Rural Dionysia. If my argument has any weight, we know more about the spring festivals and less about the winter festivals than scholars have thought.

GEORGE N. BELKNAP.

**The Atlas Metope of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.**—'Heracles supports the sky, Athena helping him.' But was this—the description we hear so often—the sculptor's idea

common description of it. The Titan and the hero are at a deadlock. The one offers, the other cannot receive. It is Athena who takes the initiative, giving aid which only an Olympian can give. Her left hand is placed against the sky (fig. 1)—placed lightly, for it is lower than those of Heracles, and bears little of the weight at the moment. The next moment, and the next movement, are crucial; when the daughter of the sky-god will herself lift up the sky. Then Heracles will be free to take the apples, and Atlas can resume his burden.

S. MULLS.

**Correction.**—I should be grateful for space in which to deal with a small matter raised by your reviewer of my book, *Technique of Early Greek Sculpture*. He states, for the purpose of proving to his own satisfaction, that the Greeks when working in low relief used the same tools that were used in high relief or in free sculpture, that 'on the archaic grave stele in New York there are marks of a claw on the unfinished part of the youth's head and marks of a file on the ground.'

I did not refer to this relief (which is presumably the stele of Megakles, though there are two archaic reliefs of the same period in the Metropolitan Museum) in my book because I had not seen it. I have, however, since had the opportunity of studying it on several occasions in detail. On one of these occasions I had the advantage of examining it in the company of a sculptor who has himself worked in Greek marbles and has studied Greek archaic sculpture

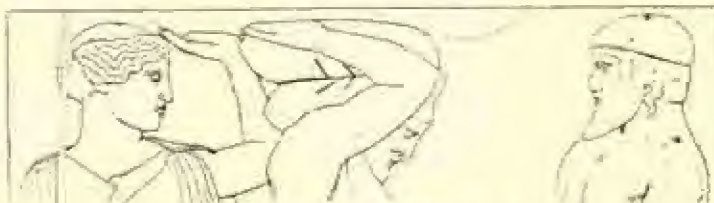


FIG. 1.—THE ATLAS METOPE (Olympia, iii, fig. 205).

of the episode? Was he attempting to convey merely a general idea of the assistance rendered to Heracles by Athena, in a sculptural pattern designed for beauty only? The other metopes shew him to have been a man of literal mind: here too we should expect not only beauty of design but a logical care for the subsequent movements of the three figures. The logic is there, and should be clear to those who look at the metope with eyes not obscured by the

at Athens. I can assure your reviewer that the technique of this relief is as follows:—

No portion of the youth's head is unfinished and no part of the youth's head shows traces of the claw. Nor are there the smallest traces of a file on the background. But the background as a whole has been given a surface smoothing with a large claw of the same dimensions as the claw used for the



basis on which the style is set. Traces of this claw are seen on the area below the aryballos above the girl's head and above the head of the boy. Later this clawed surface was smoothed over by a flat chisel which has severely scratched the surface.

The relief does not, therefore, conflict in its technique with my generalisation. The claw, as I pointed out (p. 188), was used for preparing backgrounds.

One other small matter: the reviewer accuses me of speaking 'in some places of the method

of rubbing (with abrasive) as "long and laborious," in others as much quicker than working with iron.' To this charge I must plead guilty. For that was exactly what happened in the case of abrasive: sometimes it served as a quick method, sometimes it made work laborious. One might, with equal truth, maintain the proposition 'a bicycle is both a more rapid and a less rapid method of progress than walking.' On level ground it is faster: up a steep hill it is slower. But it should have been unnecessary to labour this elementary point.

STANLEY CASSON.



## NOTICES OF BOOKS

**Bronzezeitliche und früheisenzeitliche Chronologie: Teil IV, Griechenland.**  
By NILS ÅBERG. Pp. 282; 517 figs.  
Stockholm: Verlag der Akademie, 1933.  
30 kr.

Dr. Åberg has made a really important contribution to prehistory here. The revolutionary reductions in dating that he proposes would simplify many difficult problems not only in Greek but also in European and Anatolian chronology. They deserve to be taken seriously.

But to judge the new ideas fairly the reader will have to make an effort to rid his mind of prejudices created by irritating, but in reality mostly superficial, shortcomings in the book. It seems to be the result of but one year's intensive study of the material by one who, as late as 1932, had been accustomed to take on trust the results of Aegean specialists. So it inevitably displays conspicuous gaps in knowledge, not entirely counterbalanced by the author's terrific industry (he has visited all the little island museums) and the freshness of his outlook. One is, moreover, tempted to suspect that he came to Greece not altogether without preconceptions; the book is the fourth of a series of studies on chronology, which, beginning in Italy and Central Europe, only reached Troy with Part III. Part IV frankly aims at confirming the results of these earlier investigations. Still worse, in reading, for instance on p. 56, 'To these movements of peoples on the Greek Mainland and Islands correspond others in the East and the West—the conquest of Egypt by the Hyksos and the intrusion of the Italici into Italy; here we have before us various phases of an extensive movement of peoples, the true starting-point of which must be sought in the heart of Europe,' we are unpleasantly reminded of the fantasies of Herr Hirtler and Dr. Frick.

Then Åberg is curiously reluctant to accept an excavator's statement as to the stratigraphy of objects when it conflicts with his theses. He twice queries Goldman's attribution of Cycladic sherds to E.H. I. 'The boundaries drawn between Phylakopi I and II' are dismissed as a 'construction' in which 'the desire for system has done violence to the essential unity of the material.' While freely admitting imperfections

in the British School's pioneer excavations, we must consider their results as decisive and at least as valid as the small-scale excavation by Rubinsön on Paros which Åberg praises extravagantly. Yet for Mackenzie's 'construction,' he advances one of his own—a stylistic analysis of native Melian decoration that convinces him that the Kamares sherds found therewith cannot have reached that position before 1700 B.C. (p. 127). So to explain them he postulates Melian participation in a raid on Knossos about that date!

The stratigraphy of Cretan sites is still more ruthlessly treated. The complexity of the stratification of Pendlebury's Proto-palatial Houses is emphasised by the curious phrase 'selbst habe ich mir bei einem Besuch an Ort und Stelle keine klare Auffassung von der Stratigraphie des Gebietes bilden können!'. And the reliance placed on agreements between decorative motives to establish synchronisms is unjustified. Åberg himself illustrates the same complex motive from E.H. and M.H. II. vases.

Ignoring its defects the serious student will find positive suggestions of first-class importance in Åberg's work. Eminently commendable throughout the whole series is the author's insistence that in prehistoric times, as even in eastern Europe to-day, communities of disparate cultural levels might subsist side by side—a great advance on the purely evolutionary-typological treatment current before the war. Applied to Crete the idea enables Åberg to eliminate inexplicable gaps from the record and at the same time to reduce the Minoan chronology on lines which recent work in Egypt and Sumer seems to require. So even in Middle Minoan times, he insists, the earlier Palaces of Knossos, Phaistos and Hagia Triada occupied a privileged position in the forefront of civilisation; side by side with such metropolises may have subsisted provincial communities and even barbarian aliens. The fine M.M. II. Kamares pottery would be the product of the palace workshops, reflecting the tastes of a metropolis; in the provincial regions of East Crete a more archaic style would persist as Evans himself once hinted (*P. of M.* i, 29). The hiatus yawning between M.M. I. and M.M. III. in East Crete could thus be eliminated by treating the Knossian M.M. II. just as the similar



L.M. II. is now universally treated; the unlikelihood of the discontinuity currently assumed in the settlements and cemeteries of East Crete is convincingly exposed by the author. In the same way the early tholoi and ossuaries like Pyrgos can be attributed to backward or even alien communities, clinging to archaic or foreign traditions while the older palaces were flourishing in Central Crete.

The hiatus in Cycladic settlement for which Childe and Frankfort have devised rather far-fetched explanations can be eliminated by similar treatment. In fact both a few grave groups and isolated bronzes and also imports found at Eutresis and other Mainland sites demonstrate that the 'primitive Cycladic' unpainted wares and graves persisted on certain islands throughout Middle Cycladic times at least down to the Shaft Grave epoch. Incidentally Åberg has clearly established a hitherto unnoticed geographical division of this Cycladic material into a southern, Pelos group (on Melos, Amorgos, Paros and Naxos) and a northern, Syros, group (on Naxos, Syros, Andros, Euboea) to which few types are common.

Evidently this method of approach must react on our notions of chronology. The Early Minoan period is best known from East Crete and the Mesara. But if much of the material from these provincial areas that is usually regarded as pre-palatial in reality overlaps with that from the earlier palaces, the antiquity of E.M. is liable to reduction. Seager more than once insisted on the relatively short duration of the periods represented by the E.M. and M.M. I. deposits at Vasiliki and Psira (*Trans. Dept. Arch. Univ. of Penns.*, ii (1907), p. 115; iii (1910), p. 9). Åberg can cite agreements in form and design between 'E.M. III' and admittedly M.M. II. vases that are hardly compatible with an interval of two or three centuries between the two epochs. No actual imports from or to Egypt found in datable strata go back beyond M.M. II., and the earliest really significant parallels between Egyptian and Minoan glyptic are not appreciably older than the First Intermediate Period.

The possibility must then be seriously envisaged that the beginning of the distinctive Minoan civilisation may be brought down to the second half of the IIIrd millennium B.C. A corresponding reduction of Cycladic and Helladic chronologies would inevitably follow.

Åberg indeed goes much further than this. He inclines to deny the existence of any Minoan civilisation in Crete prior to that of the M.M. II. palaces about 1900 B.C.—entirely ignoring the

Knossian evidence published in detail in *BSA*, x, 21-22. Minoan, Cycladic and Helladic civilisations would alike begin after 2000 B.C., with a Northern or Anatolian invasion 'perhaps connected with the first Indogermanic expansion to Hither Asia.' The destruction of the earlier palaces would coincide with and be due to the same 'Greek invasion' as brought to an end the Early Helladic culture. Both events Åberg dates to 1700 B.C.

Here we have certainly entered a realm of pure speculation. Such an abbreviation of the Early Aegean period is hardly defensible. The E.H. deposits at Eutresis and Zygouries, for instance, are twice as thick as the M.H. to which Åberg allows three centuries. Moreover, it remains necessary to account for the predynastic analogies to Minoan figurines and Cycladic enigma, the early Sumerian and Egyptian parallels to the multiple vases from the Mesara, a vase of Cycladic marble from a First Dynasty grave at Abusir-el-Meleq (Frankfort, *Studies*, i, p. 112, n. 2) and so on.

Note the less a reduction of the Aegean chronology on the lines here advocated would eliminate grave contradictions. We have to thank Dr. Åberg for boldly suggesting a method to that end. We are no less indebted to him for collecting and very beautifully illustrating in this sumptuous volume a great deal of material otherwise difficult of access or entirely unpublished.

V. G. C.

**Homer and Mycenae.** By MARTIN P. NILSSON. Pp. xiv + 284, 8vo; 56 illustrations. London: Methuen, 1933. 21s.

This able and learned book comes at an opportune moment. The general scholar has too long lacked that guidance which is necessary for the full enjoyment of any work of ancient literature and perhaps most obviously indispensable in the case of Homer. Schliemann's excavations inaugurated a new era in Homeric criticism, but we are only now attaining to a coherent view of the epoch they revealed; moreover, it is recognised that the Homeric problem cannot be adequately surveyed from the archaeological standpoint alone. Professor Nilsson's book, based on a synthesis of the archaeological, linguistic and mythological evidence, gives that comprehensive introduction to the study of Homer which the student has long desired, and which few scholars are so well qualified to write. The book is brief and the treatment inevitably summary, but candid and stimulating. Sometimes indeed the matter is too controversial for such handling, notably



in the second chapter, which deals with the history of the Mycenaean age. For Professor Nilsson this period is an age of Vikings, and the Mycenaeans a bold band of Aryan rovers who made a fortune out of loot and built an empire on it. The occupants of the Shaft-graves represent these northern and Greek-speaking intruders, while their equipment with its mixed characteristics reflects their reaction to the Minoan culture with which they then came in contact. This view has certainly much to recommend it. Since it was put forward by Buck in 1926, Karo's great publication of the Shaft-graves has gone near to demonstrate that, whoever the Mycenaeans were, they were not Minoan colonists, and it seems improbable that their Nibelungen hoard was honestly come by. Nevertheless, the arguments by which Professor Nilsson seeks to dissociate them from the Middle Helladic folk and prove them recent immigrants from the north are not always sound, and are sometimes based on errors of fact. Thus he overlooks (p. 84) the 'Minyan' ware found by Mr. Heurtley in Chalcidice and the strong case for the origin of the fabric in Macedonia, and similarly misses the megaron at Eutresis dated to the earliest phase of Middle Helladic on that site. The argument that a migratory people cannot bring its own pottery with it, and that therefore the widely-diffused 'Minyan' ware must have been produced by a population already resident in Greece, fails to observe the distinction between migratory and nomadic, or rather, perhaps, is based on the tacit assumption that the Aryans were in a nomadic stage of culture when they entered Greece. The presence of amber necklaces in the Shaft-graves does not justify the inference that the wearers had recently arrived from the north; it proves only that they were in contact, direct or indirect, with some place where amber could be obtained, and that they were able to pay for it. In that sudden acquisition of an enormous supply of gold undoubtedly lies the key to much that is puzzling at Mycenae; but whence it came and how is an unsolved and probably insoluble problem. On the whole the Viking aspect of the Mycenaean empire, naturally attractive to a Scandinavian, seems to be over-stressed. True, as the Professor reminds us, the Vikings had a settled civilisation behind them, and could not without it have achieved what they did; true also that from the fourteenth century B.C. onwards the distribution of archaeological remains coupled with that of the Arcado-Cypriot dialects testifies to Greek adventure, doubtless not without its Viking

traits, in Pamphylia, Cyprus, Syria, and, according to the latest information, Cilicia. None the less, Mycenae herself, with her great buildings, her paved roads and the wide diffusion of her wares, surely stands for something more permanent and constructive than could have been achieved of predatory raids or maintained by a career of plunder. The hypothesis of a new racial element nevertheless may well be true: for the rival view that it was the Middle Helladic culture which blossomed into the Mycenaean has little more positive evidence to support it. The point of importance for Professor Nilsson's general theory is that the Greek language should establish itself in Greece not later than the opening of the Shaft-grave period. Accepting, as is generally done on archaeological evidence, the view that there is a Mycenaean element in Homer and also a recent contention that part of this is definitely referable to the period preceding 1400 B.C., he asks how this is to be accounted for, and finds the answer in a continuous tradition embodied in heroic poetry, and transmitted from the days when the Greeks first established themselves at Mycenae. On this material generations of unknown poets drew, adopting, discarding, finally thrusting all themes save those of Troy and perhaps Thebes into the background; until there appeared 'a great poet, who infused new life and vigour into epic poetry, putting the psychology of his heroes in the foreground and planning a comprehensive composition' (i.e. the *Iliad*) 'under this aspect.' This view of the origin of Greek epic is supported by a fascinating survey of the heroic poetry of other peoples in which the points common to all—the use of historical characters, the indifference to historical fact, the chronological confusion—are well brought out. The over-lavish use of the term 'epic,' however, is to be deprecated, as tending to obscure the distinction between root and flower. The date of this poet, whom we shall all, with Professor Nilsson, 'like to call Homer,' cannot be earlier than the ninth century, a date to which English opinion also inclines. The *Odyssey* is attributed to a different poet and a considerably later date. Here we are on speculative ground. That the *Odyssey* is somewhat later than the *Iliad* no one will deny; but Scott's linguistic tests suggests that the interval is not great, and some of the features which Professor Nilsson claims as indicating the Orientalising period (i.e. the late eighth or early seventh century) are susceptible of a different interpretation. It is worth noting that the false yarns of Odysseus take him only into regions familiar to Mycenaean commerce, and



the perpetual recurrence of Crete in these inventions suggests that the poet was seeking inspiration in the days when Achaian masters of that island raided the coasts of Libya and Egypt. Nor does the frequent appearance of the Phoenicians necessarily indicate a late date. The excavations at Ras Shamra and Minet-el-Beida have shewn that the Greeks must already in the fourteenth century have been familiar with the Semitic inhabitants of the Syrian coastland. 'When the Greeks,' says Professor Nilsson, (p. 136), again 'commenced their sea-voyages, they were, of course, excluded from competing with the Phoenicians in the eastern Mediterranean.' Whence then comes the knowledge of this region which the *Odyssey* betrays, and why is Odysseus portrayed as adventuring in it in company with one of these very Phoenicians? Like his pretended raid on Egypt, the situation, inappropriate to the eighth or seventh century, is perfectly in place in the thirteenth or twelfth.

These are seductive topics; but enough, perhaps more than enough, time has been spent on controversy. It remains to mention the account of Homeric language and style, a triumph of concise lucidity, the illuminating parallel between the organisation of the state as we find it in Homer and as we can reconstruct it from the data of Mycenae, and the concluding chapter on 'Mythology in Homer,' an analysis of the Trojan 'mythos' in the widest sense. Here, as we should expect, Professor Nilsson has much to say that is valuable and weighty, and, incidentally, has a Cypro-Mycenaean vase of the highest interest to publish. In the figure which stands with the scales before the chariot and its two occupants have we indeed a thirteenth-century representation of Zeus? It seems almost too good to be true. Possibly in Cyprus it is safer to suppose Egyptian influence, and interpret the figure with the scales as the weigher of souls. On this and other matters the classical scholar will do well to acquaint himself with Professor Nilsson's opinions at first hand.

H. L. L.

**Hesiod, Works and Days.** Edited by T. A. SINCLAIR. Pp. lxxi + 96; London: Macmillan & Co., 1932. 10s. 6d.

Mr. Sinclair's commented edition deserves an honourable place at the side of those of Mazon and Wilamowitz. It is intended mainly for classical students and will serve admirably the purpose of introducing them into the complex problems offered by this poem. The Introduction treats the general problems in a

lucid and succinct manner. Very illuminating is the author's discussion of the place of Hesiod's poem in literature. Although the comparison with Horace's *Sermones* has been hinted at by others, his exposition has an original and persuading touch. Hesiod's rôle as a prophet of justice is well brought out and his lasting influence on the immediately following ages is proved by a valuable collection of passages from later writers. Concerning the tradition on Hesiod's life and death, S. does little more than collect and print the relevant passages. Probably he does not think it worth while to inquire into the entangled tradition and its sources. For the text he takes Rzsch's fundamental work as his basis but lays more stress on the agreement between the manuscript classes E and D.

S. is a unitarian and rejects rightly the attempts to dissect the poem, but I cannot go so far with him as to include the *Days* in the original poem. As I have stated elsewhere, the outlook is quite different. Instead of the purposeful observations of the phenomena of Nature in the *Works*, the *Days* recommend the meticulous superstition of observing the days of the lunar month, which very often will thwart the practical lessons of Nature. The *Days* belong to another world than the *Works*, but cannot be much later. The section on the *Days* adduces for comparison chiefly the very late *Lunaria*. If there is any connexion, it is a very far-fetched one except for the general view on the month's days. It would be important to ransack the cuneiform texts in order to see if they offer any comparisons. For the lunar superstition must have come from Babylonia.

The running commentary is generally speaking good and up to date. Philological questions and problems of text and tradition are treated with circumspection and sound judgment; a special merit is that the numerous technical matters are treated fully. It is much to the purpose that full references are given to works and papers in which such things are discussed. There is no reason to quarrel with the author because he treats some things more briefly and others more fully; I may, however, call attention to a few points.

V. 38. Birt's etymology of *παῖδες* from *πάσις* is impossible; the word is probably pre-Greek; see Wackernagel, *Sprachl. Untersuchungen zu Homer*, pp. 209.

V. 47. Our ideas are strongly influenced by Genesis, ch. 3, vv. 17-19; the similarity is undeniable.

V. 52. Greek peasants carried about fire in the stalk to a giant fennel (*σάπων*) in journeys



down to the nineteenth century; see Frazer, *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, II, p. 260.

V. 94. I am sorry that the author translates *πίθος* by 'box' without comments. The story how the earthenware vessel came to be a box is told by Miss Harrison, *JHS.*, xx, 1900, p. 99.

V. 96. The question why the Hope remained in the *πίθος* has given rise to an endless discussion because the poet has made himself guilty of a confusion of thought, as I have tried to explain in *Gnomon*, 1924, p. 614. I may corroborate this by referring to Theognis, vv. 1131, quoted by the author on p. 24. The setting is another, for the other gods go to Olympus, Hope only remains, but the underlying idea is clearly the same.

Vv. 109. Concerning the four ages I stick to my explanation in *Gnomon*, 1924, p. 614. The Bronze Age was given, for the people preserved the memory of a preceding time in which tools and weapons were of bronze, themselves living in an Iron Age. The idea of the deterioration of humanity was familiar from Homer and strengthened by the hardships of the time. The series was completed by adding the two other metals generally known, gold and silver, and the old idea of a Land of Cockayne lent its colour to the picture. But as the Heroes were held in great honour the degenerate Bronze Age was not a proper place for them, and as everybody knew that they lived in an age not too remote, the necessity was felt to attribute a separate age to them. Hence the sequence of the scheme was broken up. The age before the present was divided into two, the Bronze Age proper and the Age of the Heroes. There is no need to derive the idea of the Ages from foreign sources.

V. 162. The importance of this brief hint for the development of the Theban cycle deserved to be brought out; see Robert, *Oedipus*, I, p. 42.

V. 233. There is a paper on the importance of acorns as a nourishment in a hidden place and language: T. Segerstedt, *Eksguden i Dodona* (The Oak-god at Dodona), *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, 1906, I, 1.

V. 241. ἀναστάσις. The recent discussion of the difficult problem of the epic 'Zerdehnung' (so ad v. 479) ought to have been noted.

V. 423. Of course the height of the mortar is referred to, for the trunk is cut off cross-wise. If the fibres of the wood were transversal they would not stand the pesting.

V. 453. πρὸς ἀφροδίτην, obviously rich in regard of thoughts only, poor in action.

V. 541. Sacral regulations have the same

prescription, and here as elsewhere in the Rules there is a connexion with the Pythagoreans: Th. Wächter, *Reinheitswörter im griech. Kult.*, p. 55.

M. P. N.

*Iliaden i tidlig graeek Kunst.* By K. FAUS JOHANSEN. Pp. 171; 41 half-tone figures. Copenhagen: Povel Branner, 1934. 4 kr. 50.

The title recalls Dr. Bulas' *Illustrations antiques de l'Iliade* (reviewed in *JHS.* 51, p. 301; additions by Bulas in *Est.* 34), and the ground covered is in part the same; but while Dr. Bulas embraces the whole of antiquity, Prof. Johansen confines himself to early Greek art, down to the second quarter of the fifth century; he studies the representations, which are mostly vase-paintings, in greater detail than Bulas, and goes on to draw important general conclusions. He finds that the Corinthian vase-painters of the end of the seventh century and the first half of the sixth shew remarkably close acquaintance with the *Iliad*, and the *Iliad* as we know it. Turning to Attica, he finds a difference: scenes from the *Iliad* occur on Attic vases as early as the second quarter of the sixth century and even earlier; but it is not until the last quarter of the century that the painters seem to know the poem really well. Why is this? Johansen finds the explanation in the words of 'Socrates' in the pseudo-Platonic *Hipparchos*; Hipparchos son of Peisistratos 'was the first to introduce the poems of Homer into Attica and to make the rhapsodes recite them at the Panathenaic festival. . . .'

The book is what one would expect from the author of *Vases sicyoniens* and *Hoby-Fundet*; written concisely and clearly, argued quietly and neatly. There are two questions. First, is it true that the relation of the Attic vase-painter to the *Iliad* changes in the last quarter of the century? I think Johansen has made this out. One or two of his points may be disputed, and the change may be less abrupt than he suggests; but enough remains. Second, was the change due to Hipparchos? Or was it that, as time went on, the grander and profounder work began to stand away from the other epics with their simpler contrasts and (to judge from the fragments) ruder style? Johansen weighs the arguments, and makes a good case for Hipparchos.

Apart from the main theses there is much in the book that is new. One of the most important things is the reinterpretation of the early vases with 'the Arms of Achilles.' Johansen shews that the arms in the early vases (not the late



archaic) are not the 'replacement' set of the 18th book, but the original set, Hephaistos-made like the other, brought the hero by Thetis and her sisters before he left Phthia for Troy. This is convincing, and may solve, as the author urges, an old difficulty in the Chest of Cypselus.

Even where there is nothing novel in the interpretation, the author's good sense and sure touch make him pleasant reading. It was essential for his purpose that he should examine all the older interpretations, and make up his mind what was certain, what only possible, what impossible. In doubt he excludes. The column-krater by the Harrow Painter in Berlin (no. B32 on p. 164; *AA.* 1890, p. 89) may represent Thetis and Achilles: Johansen objects that 'Thetis is not winged elsewhere, and was accompanied on the occasion (*Il.* 18, 70) by her sisters.' But that the painter should omit the sisters and restrict his picture to the two chief persons, would be natural at all times; and he gives Thetis wings because that immediately shews her divine and makes the subject unambiguous; the London cup E 67 (Gerhard, *Trinkschalen*, pl. D) probably represents Achilles and Memnon with Thetis and Eos, and both females are winged. Still, after all, 'possible not certain' is true enough.

In another place the conclusion is certain, but there is an argument too many: Johansen is right to substitute Diomedes for Achilles in the interpretation of the Acropolis fragment Graef 646 (his fig. 34): and the women will be Athena and Aphrodite; but the scale-pattern can hardly indicate an aegis, for, first, it appears on the lower part of Athena's peplos as well as on the upper, and secondly, it is found in other figures that cannot be Athena (*e.g.* Graef, pl. 29).

Once he is not severe enough (pp. 93 and 95): the pelike by Hermonax in Paris (G 374: *CV.* III Id, pl. 45, 1-4 and 6) is much restored (see *Att. V.* p. 301, no. 19); the two figures on the right of the obverse are now female, but I dare say they were male before the restorer took them in hand.

The Oxford Priam fragment (p. 75) still seems early to me; and Payne tells me that he would put it rather before the middle of the century than after. As to the vase in Leipsic (p. 75, note 3), I have no memory of it, only an old note:—'fragments; probably of an ovoid neck-amphora; not far from "Tyrrhenian"; Priam and Achilles on one side, frontal chariot on the other.' Let us hope it will turn up after all.

In the Edinburgh lekythos p. 74 (*BSR.* 11,

p. 11) I took the thing on the left of Priam to be not a candelabrum but Priam's staff, knobbed and flower-topped, which he lets fall as he rushes forward with outstretched arms.

Acropolis 1174 (Graef, pl. 67), mentioned on p. 84, might represent Peleus bringing his bride to Chiron, as in the Palermo stamnos by the Berlin painter (Isghirami *VE.* pl. 77-8).

Add Rumpf, *Chalk. V.* p. 170, to the bibliography of the Boston vase p. 60, p. 156, no. 14 c, and Fig. 15. The Munich amphora 1411 (*AZ.* 1854, pl. 67; see *BSA.* 32) might be cited as a forerunner of the Würzburg amphora with Ajax and Hector (p. 98 and p. 153, B 6; *FR.* pl. 104). The Dolon cup in the Cabinet des Médailles with the signature of Euphronios (p. 87 and p. 154, no. 8b), ill described by De Ridder, is to be augmented by 553, which adds the head and breast of Odysseus, and by a small fr. marked L 41 in pencil, which joins the tree-fragment and gives part of the tree, of Odysseus' chlamys, and of his spear. B 26 on p. 163 is in Angers (*RA.* 1923, i, p. 48), B 25 (Millingen *AUM.* i, pl. 4) in Lord Elgin's collection at Broomhall.

J. D. B.

**Ancient Architecture: a Commentary in Verse.** By CHESTER H. JONES. Pp. xvi + 208; 149 illustrations. London: Batsford, 1933. 15s.

This posthumous book is a lively summary in doggerel rhyme of the history of ancient architecture down to the reign of Constantine. The author is well-informed and in the Greek and Roman parts, at all events, his errors of fact are few and trivial. The verse is poor at its best, and drops to such lines as

'Or from the land of (former) Prohibition,  
Where sentiment and "pash" are not  
amiss.'

The author has illustrated the text with many small drawings of somewhat coarse quality, which shew little feeling for classical form, and also with maps, chronological tables, and a good glossary covering medieval as well as ancient architecture.

D. S. R.

**Knidia: Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Praxitelesischen Aphrodite.** By CHR. BUNKENBERG. Pp. 232; 16 plates and 93 figures. Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1933.

How various the problems which a study of the Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles involves, and how thoroughly they may be explored, can be seen from the summary given at the beginning



of Professor Blinkenberg's book, which incorporates the results of many years' work. A detailed catalogue of the full-sized replicas is included; but human courage is not limitless, and even B. has stopped short of a full catalogue of the statuettes, though he seems to know most of them, and has used the evidence of several. To gain an idea of the Cnidian you must start with the Roman coins on which reproductions of it appear, and from them you can pass to copies in the round. As in any long series of copies, the differences of execution, of detail, and sometimes more serious differences still, raise and may eventually help to settle the whole difficult question of the method by which copies were made in antiquity. They range from the universally familiar statue in the Vatican, a Roman copy, now at length freed from its immodest drapery of zinc, to the well-known Kaufmann head and the less-known fragment of its body (this, a free Hellenistic version, from Tralles, is on a slightly smaller scale than most of the copies, and it therefore seems a pity to perpetuate in figures 2 and 3 and plate 2 its erroneous combination, in a cast, with the body of the Vatican statue, which B. himself deplores). In a class apart comes a fragment on plate 15, found by Newton at Cnidus itself, and now in the British Museum. Few can doubt that it is of fourth-century workmanship, and its freshness and strength make the other copies look very poor indeed. But a contemporary replica of the Aphrodite, in the round, dedicated in Cnidus, is almost unthinkable; therefore this fragment ought to be part of the original: that seems the logical argument. There are possible objections to it. One is that the Cnidian perished in the burning of the Lausica at Constantinople in 476 A.D. But, as B. points out, the writer who made this statement thought that Praxiteles was a native of Cnidus, that Pericles dedicated the Olympian Zeus, and that Lysippus worked with Bupalos on the archaic Hera of Samos: it is not perhaps fair to count against him the six-foot Athena by Dipoinos and Skyllis, for the amaraodus of which it was made was not emerald (Wainwright in *Palestine Quarterly*, Jan. 1934, p. 42 f.). B. conjectures that, in fact, the statue stood in its shrine at Cnidus so long as the old religion was powerful enough to safeguard it, and then fell victim to the hammer of some zealous Christian. Why then is the fragment in the British Museum not the original? B.'s answer is that it is not sculpture in the round. He would have it a rather free contemporary copy of the Aphrodite, from a relief, of the background of which he

thinks a small part still remains at the side of the neck. This is just possible, but I find it difficult to believe that the sheer surface at the back of the head was destined to be set against a background, or alternatively was the actual back of the relief-slab itself, which would thus be much too thin. There is, of course, an obvious parallel to such high relief at this time in the sculptured drums and piers of the Ephesian Artemision, and the fine fragments of an amazon of fifth-century type from one of these reliefs, in the British Museum (*JHS.* 34, p. 87, fig. 10) and at Vienna, shew that such fourth-century relief-sculptors were not unwilling to reproduce free statues dedicated not long before. Certainly the rather less finished surfaces at the sides of the neck in the Cnidian fragment call for some explanation. Perhaps they were covered by a veil as in the head from Chios at Boston: perhaps the fragment does not represent Aphrodite at all; it may be Persephone; and it was indeed found in the temenos of the infernal deities. Best then at present to regard it as not being an exact replica of the Praxitelean Aphrodite. It does not correspond in the direction of the hair with any other copy, though it does come fairly near in this particular, as B. points out, to the earliest reproduction of the head of the Aphrodite on Cnidian coins, and to a head in the Vatican: the latter, however, has no claim to be considered a truer copy than any other, and if the authority of these two pieces of evidence is to be accepted, we must assume not only that the tradition of all the other marble copies went astray somewhere (a possibility if the statue was never cast and a single misleading copy served as model for them all) but also that the evidence of all the later coins of Cnidus which reproduce the statue—and these do agree reasonably well with each other—is to be flatly rejected. That is hardly a possibility.

In an appendix are discussed, among other interesting matters, those primitive images, ultimately of Cypriote origin, one of whose gestures was perpetuated, though not with its original meaning, in the Praxitelean statue; and the pictures of the unique sixth-century statue of this type at Orvieto, poorly published before, are most valuable. In short, an important book.

B. A.

*Ans der Welt des Pergamonaltars.* By HANS ERICH STIEK. Pp. 197; 30 figures in text and one on cover. Berlin: Heinrich Keller, 1932. 5.50m.

This is a popular account of the Hellenistic Age in its more romantic and picturesque



aspects, intended for visitors to the Pergamon Museum at Berlin. They will find it hard going: it is confusedly written, and not improved by analogies from European history illustrative of *Grundfragen der Weltgeschichte*. Good half-tones, though some too small, with a high proportion of unusual views or subjects, including a Gandharan fragment not published hitherto.

A. W. L.

**Der Fries des Hekateions von Lagina.** By ARNOLD SCHÖBER. (*Istanbuler Forschungen, Band 2.*) Pp. 112; 36 plates, 45 figures in text. Baden bei Wien: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1933. 26m.

An adequate publication of the last pretentious Greek frieze has long been needed and this volume is more than adequate; the description seems exhaustive and the collotypes reproduce every slab magnificently. A preliminary section on the architecture shows that the Lagina Hecateum belongs to the group of Hermogenes' temples, though a few years later than the Artemisium of Magnesia or the Temple of Apollo at Alabanda; it is thus dated in the last quarter of the second century B.C. The theory that the frieze was later than the building rested largely on an Augustan inscription associated with the frieze of the altar, a work obviously contemporary with that of the temple; the inscription is now proved to have come from a different altar and the two friezes are ascribed to the end of the second century, like the temple. They therefore fit into their logical place in the development of Hellenistic sculpture, for some slabs represent the last efforts of the Pergamene school of exaggerated naturalism, while others express the Late Hellenistic interest in linear design. The detailed comparison with reliefs elsewhere should, when generally digested, assist to place many a minor work of art and already goes far to clear up the history of this transition. The next step should be the correlation of Dr. Schöber's material with the Attic sculpture of the following two generations, especially the remains at Eleusis, and that might elucidate the Greek share in the creation of Roman Imperial art.

A. W. L.

**Protokorinthische Vasen.** By H. G. G. PAYNE. (*Bilder Griechischer Vasen*, edd. BEAZLEY and JACOBSTHAL, Heft 7.) Pp. 24; 32 plates. Berlin: H. Keller, 1933. 16m.

An admirable and very welcome addition to this excellent series. The illustrations are well chosen and very good indeed. Particularly

valuable are Plate 3 (Toronto Krater); Plate 8 (Pyxis from the Argive Heraeum); Plate 11, 1-5 (Boston Centaureomachy); Plate 12 (Toulouse Oenochoe); Plate 16 (Brussels Pyxis).

Perhaps even more valuable are the Enlargements and Drawings. Enlargements:—Plate 9, 5; Plate 10, 5-6; Plate 11, 2 (Boston Centaureomachy); Plate 21, 2-4 (Berlin Centaureomachy); Plate 23, 1-3 (Berlin Lion Aryballos); Plate 23, 4, and 28, 1 and 3 (Chigi Vase). Drawings:—Plate 8, 1 (Argive Heraeum Pyxis: a new reconstruction of the ornament on the base); Plate 10, 1; Plate 11, 1 (Boston Centaureomachy); Plate 14, 1; Plate 18 (Aegina fragments: an improvement on *Necrocorinthia* Plate 6); Plate 19, 1 and 2; Plate 21, 1 (Berlin Centaureomachy); Plate 30, 3 and 4. Add to these the illustrations of sherds from the Heraeum at Perachora (Plates 19, 5; 24, 1 and 2; 26, 4; 32, 9), a pleasing foretaste of the publication of that site.

The drawings are particularly good and vastly different from the average "author's drawings" in many archaeological books.

Mr. Payne's text consists of a concise and careful analysis of the six phases of Protocorinthian vase painting. Origins, debts, development and, more important, character (emphasised by a comparison with Rhodian) are all well discussed. There is no one better qualified to do this than Mr. Payne, and the result is, for the archaeologist, an authoritative summary of Protocorinthian art, and for the historian, a valuable document of the cultural development of Corinth in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.

Those historians who still regard the seventh century as a dark and barbarous period, or as an empty stage, well suited for the wanton display of their sceptical ingenuity in controversy, will doubtless find this book little to their taste. But perhaps it is too much to hope that they will read it.

The following points seem to call for comment:

*P. 20, Chronological Table.* The Refined Geometric, which succeeds Protocorinthian Geometric proper, still holds the field c. 734 B.C. at the date of the foundation of Syracuse. The absence of vases of the Early Orientalising style from what seem to be the earliest graves at Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea perhaps indicates the date of c. 725 B.C. for the beginning of that style. This is more precise than Mr. Payne's second half of the eighth century, but it is perhaps a vicious precision. He has shewn (*Necrocorinthia*, p. 5) that the aryballos is a Cretan-Cypriot shape and emphasised



the early Cretan influence from c. 750 B.C. onwards on Protocorinthian. Consequently the Early Orientalising style, in the wider sense of the phrase, can be dated, as it is in his Chronological Table, from c. 750 B.C. onwards. Nevertheless, it is worth emphasising that there is a period, c. 750 B.C. to c. 725 B.C., when the linear style is supreme, and that strictly Orientalising vases do not appear side by side with it till c. 725 B.C.

P. 10. The refinement of Protocorinthian Geometric into the delicate Protocorinthian linear style, c. 750 B.C., perhaps deserves more emphasis and elaboration than Mr. Payne has had space to give to it. All that is characteristic, perhaps even all that is good, in Protocorinthian vase painting is foreshadowed in that refinement. It enabled the artist to maintain his poise when he came into contact with the new and exciting art of the East. His taste and eye had been chastened by the linear tradition, and he seldom or never fell into the Elizabethan exuberance of his contemporaries in the rest of Greece. It is true that his models came to him already once tamed and Hellenised by the artists of Crete, but the sheer excellence of Protocorinthian in the succeeding period is due more to the genius of the Corinthian artist and his chaste and austere tradition, than to his once tamed models. And, further, as Mr. Payne shews, Cretan models—once tamed Orientalism—were taken, not *fonte de mieux*, but from 'conscious predilection' for Cretan work.

P. 11, note 4. It is perhaps worth noting that the majority of Mr. Payne's list of Oriental works from Corinth belongs to the period after 650 B.C. Only the Phoenician bowl, the tridachna shell (?) and the *Pro-Saite* scarabs from the Heraeum at Perachora can certainly be referred to the period c. 750-c. 650 B.C., when Corinthian art was most impressionable and Cretan influence on it at its strongest. But this does not weaken the validity of his argument.

A. A. B.

**Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Italia 9 — Rodi, Museo Archeologico dello Spedale dei Cavalieri di Rodi 1.** By GIULIO JACOPI. Pp. 56; 50 plates. Milan and Rome: Bestetti and Tumminelli, 1933. 90 l.

Samples of the vases recently discovered by Dr. Jacopi and his predecessors in the island of Rhodes: East Greek of various fabrics, Corinthian, Laconian, and Attic.

Camiran. II D*b*, pl. 4, 2-3 and 5, and pl. 5: this is the oinochoe on which something unusual in the style happens: the animals come to grips:

the sphinx wrings the goose's neck; and the second goose (pl. 4, 3)—is surely not 'fleeing screaming,' but has already had its neck wrung.

Fikellura. II D*i*, pl. 4, another unique East Greek vase. The warrior should be Ares.

III D, Pl. 2, 1-2 is not Laconian, but an Attic 'Droop cup,' of the same class as III H*e*, pl. 16, 3 and III H*e*, pl. 17, 1: see Ure in *JHS.* 52, p. 58, no. 18.

III F, pl. 1. This is one of the many vases here published that are discussed by Jacobsthal in his long and valuable review of the first two volumes of *Clara Rhodē* (*GGA.* 1933, pp. 1-16). Dr. Jacopi has not had the opportunity of consulting this study.

III F, pl. 2, 4 is not Ionian but Attic, and is placed in the Komast group by Payne (*NC.* p. 197, no. 40).

III H*e*, pl. 2, 2: the device a dolphin not a fish. Pl. 3, 3, 3, the maenad has crotala in her hands. Pl. 6, by the Madrid painter (*BSR.* 11, p. 7; add the hydria Athens 564, C*c.* 764). Pl. 7, 3-4: Jacobsthal points out, in the review quoted above (p. 12), that this is an East Greek imitation of Attic style. Pl. 8, 1: Polyxena and Troilos. Pl. 9, 2, by the Swing painter (see *BSA.* xxxii). Pl. 10, 4, the 'giovane' has a great beard. Pl. 10, 5, Herakles. Pl. 10-13: the olpe seems to have been a favourite shape in Rhodes. Pl. 15, 1, the thing in the exergue is a drinking-horn. Pl. 15, 2: the design is connected somehow with that of the late Douris cup in Boston (Hartwig pl. 74-5; Pfuhl fig. 470). Pl. 16, 1: for parallels see Jacobsthal's review, p. 7. Pl. 16, 3, a Droop cup (Ure, *JHS.* 52, p. 62, no. 67). Pl. 16, 4, no doubt local as Jacopi says; see also Jacobsthal's review, p. 12. Pl. 17, 1, a Droop cup (Ure, *JHS.* 52, p. 63, no. 99). Pl. 18, 2: a lip-cup with unusual decoration—in the handle-zone instead of on the lip: mentioned in *JHS.* 52, p. 183. Pl. 19, 1-2: East Greek imitation of Attic black-figure, about 540 B.C.

Attic cf. III *e*, Pl. 1, 1 is by the Cleveland painter (see my *Pan-Maler*, p. 191). Pl. 1, 2: for the reading of the gesture see Jacobsthal's review, p. 10. Pl. 3, by the Pig painter. Pl. 4, imitation of the Niochid painter.

Dr. Jacopi has spoilt us. We have come to look forward to a new work of his as an event: each volume of *Clara Rhodē* has been a treasure of new and important, sometimes surprising, material: published with ample details, with copious and excellent illustrations, and with a generous promptness rare among excavators, even in his own country. It is therefore somewhat disappointing to find that every single vase



in this volume of the *Corpus*, with the exception of nine common Cypriot vases not even found in Rhodes, has been published before. Evidently it is another fascicule of *Corpus*; but the *Corpus* is not, perhaps, an end in itself.

It may be argued that the four volumes of *Clara Rhodes*, with the Ialysos volume of the *Annuario*, cost, say, £25, whereas the same vases, when they shall all have been published in the *Corpus*, will be available for half or a third of that sum. Yes: but *Clara Rhodes* contains a mass of precious information that will not be found in the *Corpus*—the situation of the tomb, the tomb-groups, the reproductions of the objects (not vases) found in conjunction with them. The student will be forced to revert to the original publications; while the money spent on *repetitum* might have been devoted to making known some fraction of the vast wealth of unpublished material in Italian collections.

J. D. B.

**Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: United States of America 4 = the Robinson Collection, Baltimore, Md., 1.** By DAVID MOORE ROBINSON, with the assistance of MARY W. McGENEE, 58 pp., 48 plates. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1934. \$5.

This contains the earlier vases and fragments in Prof. Robinson's collection, down to the end of the Attic bf.; and the white vases. Pl. 9, 7 is said to have been found with Mycenaean vases and is called L.H. III, but it is surely a Corinthian kotyle of the sixth century. Pl. 14, 7 seems Corinthian not Boeotian, pl. 15, 5 Etruscan not Italiote. Pl. 15, 3:  $\sigma\iota\eta$  is the thing mentioned in Ar. *Ach.* 920,  $\sigma\iota\sigma\phi\eta$  is known from Ar. *Fr.* 561 Kock. In the literature on Camiran vases (p. 35), Miss Price's *Classification* is omitted; Zervos' *Rhodes* is of course some compensation. Here and elsewhere the author gives references to the other fascicules of the *Corpus* in which vases of the various fabrics are published: such lists may conceivably save the reader a little trouble, but only if they are complete; and here Oxford, Cambridge, and the Cabinet des Médailles are omitted. Pl. 17 is a good hydria, but it is Attic, not Chalcidian; for the style we may compare such vases as London 97.7-21.2 (cf. pl. 35, 1), the Brussels-Louvre plaque (*JM.* 53, Beilage 10, nr. 31), and an amphora of Panathenaic shape in Bonn (A, frontal chariot; B, horsemen with a tripod between). In spite of Rumpf's great work, there seems to be some confusion about Chalcidian (cf. *JHS.* 47, p. 148); and I trust that the 'unpublished

Chalcidian amphora at Princeton' is not the Attic vase mentioned, and one side published, in *BSA.* xxxii. Perseus cannot be wearing a cuirass; nor can the rosette on his chiton be 'meant to represent the kibisis or pouch in which Perseus carries Medusa's head,' for what would it represent then in Herakles' chiton (Pfuhl, fig. 86), or in Perseus' chiton when his wallet is round his shoulders (Pfuhl, fig. 482)? Pl. 19, 1: another good vase: the inscriptions do not come out clear in the photograph, and the interpretation as  $\epsilon\pi\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\ \iota\sigma\gamma\omega\nu$  or  $\epsilon\pi\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \iota\sigma\gamma\omega\nu$  seems highly improbable, especially as the figures are male. Pl. 19, 2: the cups mentioned in *JHS.* 49, p. 265 are not of this shape. Pl. 20 and pl. 21, 1: two cups by the same hand are in Thebes (*BSA.* 14, pl. 9, 2; *EpH.* 1913, p. 253) and New York (25. 78. 83). Robinson rightly compares a kotyle in Ny Carlsberg (Poulsen, *Vases grecs*, figs. 25-6); which is by the same painter as the Athens kotylai 638 (CC. 811) and 433 (CC. 809) and the Athens cup 445 (CC. 832). Pl. 22, 1 must be Boeotian, as Robinson suggests in the text. Pl. 22, 2 and pl. 23: this vigorous kotyle, with a good cart on it, belongs to the class collected by Mingazzini under the name of the Heron painter (*Vasi Castellani*, pp. 313-17): not all the vases in his list are by one hand, but roughly there is one sound painter and a number of hacks; the Robinson kotyle is by the sound painter, who did many lekythoi as well as kotylai, and other vases as well, for instance Athens 13262. On pl. 25, a signed Nicosthenic amphora lent to the collection, Robinson observes that there are only two of these in America—a tribute to the good taste of American collectors. The neck-amphora published in pl. 28, pl. 29, 1, and pl. 30, 3 is the same as that formerly in the Peck collection (*sale cat.* no. 185) and assigned to the Antimenes painter in *JHS.* 47, p. 83, no. 10. The restorations are not given in the text; the chief is Herakles' r. thigh with most of the knee. 'On the base NEOX:' this may be an ancient graffito— $\nu\epsilon\sigma\iota$  is undoubtedly a Greek word; but I think I ought to point out that Mr. W. H. Young has the pretty fancy of inscribing  $\nu\epsilon\sigma\iota$  on the vases he restores; and I happen to remember that this vase passed through his hands. Pl. 30, 2 is correctly assigned to the Antimenes painter. Four fragmentary Panathenaic amphorae, with inscriptions, are figured in pls. 31-3. These cannot strictly be said to 'narrow the gap between von Brauchitsch's 510 and 366 B.C.,' because that gap has never been accepted, and was disproved by Norman Gardiner in 1912 (*JHS.* 32, p. 179), Radloff in the same year, Eduard Schmidt in



1922 Pfuhl, in 1923. The exact dates given in the text rest on two uncertain assumptions; first, that the attitude of the inscribed stones towards the Ionic alphabet holds for vases; secondly, that the inscribed panathenaea are all actual prizes (see Mingazzini, *Castellani*, p. 352). The Robinson amphorae bear some resemblance to that in Leningrad, *A.A.* 1912, p. 374. I cannot see anything of the Acheloos painter either in pl. 34 or in pl. 35; pl. 35 is akin to the work of the Animenes painter. The lion-slayer in pl. 34 is said to be the Megarian hero Alkathoos rather than Herakles; because he is using a sword. But, first, it doesn't look like a sword at all; and secondly, if it is, Herakles often attacks the lion with a sword (see Luce in *A.J.A.* 1916, p. 463); and look at the bf. amphora in the Villa Giulia, Mingazzini, *Castellani*, pl. 65: Herakles with Athena and Iolaos; below the lion a bent sword: the lion was ἀγρὸς ἐκδῶρος καὶ χαλκῶς, and Herakles in one version must have tried the sword first, as he tries the bow first in Apollodoros. The new stamnos by the Geras painter in London (Zahn, *Schiller*, pl. 30) has also been supposed to represent not Herakles but Alkathoos; but a young Herakles is perfectly possible at this period (and this was his first labour); and so is a Herakles in a chiton: Olympia gives sufficient warrant for both. Pl. 37, 1, pl. 37, 2, pl. 37, 3, pl. 38, 1, pl. 38, 2 are all dated too early, and can hardly belong to the sixth century. The best of the bf. lekythoi is pl. 37, 3, with a unique subject, whoever the youth may be: Taras rather than Arion—Attic vase-painters must often have seen Tarantine coins—but uncertain. The second dolphin-rider need not belong to the main picture; may be a picture by himself. Louvre F 366 is by the same hand (Pottier, pl. 96; Phot. Alinari 23721, 1); cf. also the Hyakinthos lekythos in Berlin (Neugebauer, pl. 38, 1). Pl. 39: this recalls the three larger white lekythoi Athens 12771 (CV. III Jc, pl. 3, 3 and 5), Brussels A 1020 (CV. III Jb, pl. 2, 4) and Oxford 267 (Gardner, pl. 21, 1: much restored), perhaps also the Glaukon lekythos Athens 1828 (CV. III Jb, pl. 1, 3). Pl. 40, 1: the repaints are not given in the text. Pl. 41, 1 is by Buschor's Bird painter. The grown-up is a woman (hair, earring) and probably had a chiton. It is not clear from the photograph how much of pl. 41, 2 is modern, but the drapery of the woman, the youth's alabastron (if it is anything like what appears on p. 54), and the 'Eros with butterfly-wings,' must be due to retouching. Pls. 43 and 46: it is not easy to make out the style from the publication, as pl. 46 is a colour-plate and pl. 43

is not much better, the whole outline of Charon having been gone over with a pen. I have photographs of the vase taken before it was daubed up, and these give more of the drawing and a different notion from the coloured plate. Charon was bearded. The figure on the right wears a himation, so cannot be, at this period, Hermes. I don't think the vase can be by the Reed painter, Pl. 44-5: there is a repainted crack through the woman's eye, and in the youth eye, mouth, the lower part of the nose and part of the hair are modern. 'About 450' is too early. The rarity pl. 48 is not Attic; Payne pronounces it Corinthian, no doubt rightly.

J. D. B.

Martin von Wagner-Museum der Universität Würzburg: *Griechische Vasen*. By ERNST LANGLOTZ. 1 vol. text, 175 pp.; 254 pls. in 2 vols. Munich: Obernetter, 1932.

The Würzburg collection of vases is one of the richest in Germany; numbers nearly a thousand, includes famous masterpieces. It is a good thing that the catalogue has been entrusted to a master of the subject like Prof. Langlotz.

Every vase is figured, where necessary in several views, and often with full-size details. Occasionally one might wish that the repaints had been removed; but the fault is less grave than it would be in some collections, for the condition of the vases is generally speaking good.

The text is ample without being diffuse; the stylistic comparisons are apt; there are new opinions—refreshing and sometimes provocative. Two tendencies may be noted: to detach from the mass of Attic and attribute to minor fabrics; and to redate. These are matters on which the author has a special right to be heard: for his *Bildhauerschulen* has proved his feeling for local characteristics, and his *Zeitbestimmung* is one of our chief guides to the chronology of archaic art. The dating of the Italiote vases seems on the early side: but the chronology of Italiote is not firmly established in detail—there are few fixed dates—and will bear reconsideration.

The notes that follow join issue with Dr. Langlotz on some mostly minor points: as is natural in a work that ranges over nearly the



whole field of vase-painting. There are also some references to articles that have appeared since the text was written.

64: the knob in such lids is perhaps thought of as the horse's drinking-trough; cf. Jacobsthal, *Göt.* V. pl. 10, fig. 36a? 146: 'girl's leg': Gorgon's leg? 154: another of the same class in Oxford, see *CV*. IID, pl. 8, 9, and Miss Price's text. 156: these are Italo-Corinthian according to Payne in *Cl.* Oxford, p. 74. 158: these Corinthian according to the same, *ibid.* p. 73. 164, the Phineus cup: in *JHS.* 47, p. 232, I was referring to the bird in the Dionysos picture. For the attitude of the satyr on the chariot-pole cf. the Louvre cup G88 (Pottier, pl. 98, misprinted G 89). 166: against the thing between the cocks being a bowl, Munich, S.-H. pl. 13, 389.

173: for the style cf. 303. 177: very close to the Oxford vase *CV*. III H, pl. 11. 182: by the same hand, the neck-amphorae Berlin 1852 (Gerhard, *ECV*. pl. 15-6, 3-4), Munich 1560 (J. 694: compared by L.), Würzburg 200, St. Louis (Cerberus: quoted by L. on Würzburg 203), the amphora Munich 1412; cf. also Würzburg 203 and Toronto 302. 193: delete the alpha before ... *pos.* 196: cf. the Ny Carlsberg vase Poulsen, *Vases grecs*, figs. 14-5, for which see on 366. 199: by the same hand, Capt. Spencer-Churchill's neck-amphora with the Struggle for the Tripod (*Cat. Sotheby, Dec.* 19, 1927, pl. 6, 2); cf. also Toronto 307. 200 and 203: see 182, 204: the second inscr. must be nonsense like the rest. 207: near the Acheloos painter. 213: the same subject on a h.f. neck-amphora in the Gallatin collection, and another that was recently in the market (Spink). 215 and 216: near the Acheloos painter. 220: by the same, London B 268 (*CV*. pl. 66, 3). 221: cf. also London B 275 (*CV*. pl. 68, 1). 222: cf. Toronto 308 (Robinson, pl. 43). 241: *JHS.* 52, p. 199, Phrynos painter. 243: cf. the lost Gerhard *AV*. pl. 262. 244: the driver is hardly Hermes. 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 251, 259, 263, 305: I treat all these in an article to appear in *BSA.* 32; some of my comparisons have been anticipated by L. 250: the artist has given Dionysos satyr's ears by mistake. 266: Peleus and Thetis rather than Zeus and Hera? 267 is in the manner of the Lysipides painter, as I suggested in *ABS.* p. 40, rather than from his hand; very like 267 the mastos 391, and the amphora of Panathenaic shape London B 208 (*CV*. pl. 48). 297: on the pertinence of this lid to 307, see *Kleophrades-Maler*, p. 23. 309: see also *ABS.* p. 42. 312: by the painter of Munich 1703; his other

works, hydria Munich 1701, 1697, and 1699 Tübingen D 20, Copenhagen 111, Thorvaldsen 73, Aberdeen 696, Louvre F 290. 333: assigned to the Amasis painter in *JHS.* 51, p. 201, DD. 342: Oxford 226 is by the same hand. 345 is said to be 'from the same workshop as 346': isn't 347 meant? 346: cf. 344 and Munich 1802. 347: 'same workshop as 344': 345 meant? 348: cf. 349; Oxford 1928. 459a is in the same style as both. 351 and 352 seem to go together. 359: replicas in Thebes (*BSA.* 14, pl. 11, b) and London (1926. 4-17. 1: the inscr., Μαῖα, seems modern): I take the head to be female, and the vases to be Boeotian. 366: by the Rycroft painter, so called from an amphora once in the Rycroft collection, now in the Spencer-Churchill (Apollo and woman; goddess mounting chariot): other works of his, amphorae Boston 98.919, London B 195, Vienna Oest. 225, Tarquinia RC 3165, Faiou 74, hydria Munich 1720 and Hamburg 1917. 476, neck-amphora Ny Carlsberg 2655, plaque Acropolis 2260. 391, see 267. 406: *JHS.* 52, p. 203. 413-16: Ure in *JHS.* 52, pp. 53 ff. 418: 'Kretschmer conjectures an erotic meaning': the reading given is *Utiela*, not *Kretschmer's*: what Kretschmer says (p. 93) is 'If this has any meaning at all, it is an indelicate one.' The inscriptions must be nonsense (see *V. Pol.* p. 4, note 1 and *JHS.* 52, p. 182): what would *κλαῖ* *ἡδ* *ἡδ* *ἡδ* *ἡδ* mean, even if that were what is written on the cup, and it is not? 427: as Cambridge 61 (*CV*. pl. 18, 2). 449 and 451: I treat these, and the class they belong to, in a forthcoming number of *Metz. Mus. St.*, and try to show that they are Attic. 452: Heidelberg group (*JHS.* 51, p. 280, no. 8). 458: L. rightly compares a hydria in New York; the amphora Munich 1398 is in the same style as 458; cf. also Munich 1399 and Villa Giulia 30527 (Mingazzini, *Cat.* pl. 62, 2): these are bad and queer, but may be Attic after all.

470: neighbourhood of the Epeleios painter. 478: a third work by the same hand is two fir. of a plate in the Acropolis collection, A 210 (youth). 486: inside, *ἔξω*, and on the column *ἔξω*. 487: by the painter of Würzburg 487 (*Campana Fr.* p. 11 on pl. 4, B 51). 488: by the Splanchnopt painter (*ibid.* p. 24 on pl. 16, B 29). 489: see *CV*. Oxford, pl. 57, 36. 491: the first maenad on B is inscribed Πανδία. 495: manner of the painter of Bologna 417. 506: the lower part of the youth, except the feet, seems modern. 507: see 297. 508: aren't the handles modern? 510: recalls the Ilupersis painter. 512: Clio painter



(*Att. V.* p. 403, 18). 513 and 514: by the Comacchio painter (*Campana Fr.* p. 31). 513: the fr. from Gela, now in the Villa Giulia, are from a kotyle. 517: cf. also the stamnos Naples 517: the Vogel cup mentioned at the end is *Pennsylv.* pl. 6, 2—surely Attic. 521: inser. *εολος*. 522: is there not a confusion of *ερατεινός* and *μυητός*? 527: a good many fifth c. stamnoi have base-rays. 548: by the same as the Munich column-krater with Amazons, A 929. 538: by one of the mannerists (*Att. V.* p. 249, no. 24). 534: by one of the later mannerists; by the same, a hydria with maenads and a silen in New York (Hoerber, *Treasures of the Metr. Mus.* p. 47, above). 541: analogies for some of the figures on a nuptial lebes by the Washing painter in Munich, inv. 7578 (*Md. Jb.* 1928, p. 91). Isn't the harpist a little picture by herself? 571-583: some of these aryballoi seem dated too early. 620: see Jacobsthal and Langsdorff, p. 62. 628: Carlruhe painter. 648-9 seem Attic: see now Bulas in *BCH.* 1932, p. 388. 653 must be Attic, and three replicas were found on the Acropolis of Athens (2107-8, and Acropolis Museum, Apotheke, 5787) and Mr. Vlasto has one from Salamis. 693: the date proposed, 4th c., suits the only figured example of the shape, Berlin inv. 3346, which is early 4th c.

778: this 'Pontic' vase seems to shew the influence of such Laconian cups as London B 1 and Louvre E 665. 796: the grouping seems to be a trio and two pairs; the trio a prelude to such groups as we admire in Louvre G 13; one pair, a satyr *ἀνδραγωγὸν* and a friend encouraging him; the second, a satyr pursuing another—big birds are a feature of this style and are not to be taken too seriously. 821 is surely Boeotian—unusually good, but of the same class as 646, the Louvre Danae, etc. 822 is Italiote, but the Oxford aryballos (*CV.* pl. 7, 9; *BSA.* 29, no. 21) which I had taken to be Italiote by comparison, I now see to be Attic: Mr. Vlasto has a similar piece with scales on it. 823: the author inadvertently speaks as if all Phlyax vases were Paestan, but of course there are phlyax vases from most Italiote fabrics, and some of them are quite as good as the excellent fr. in Würzburg. 879: by the same hand, a squat lekythos in Oxford, 1919.23; cf. also London *CV.* IV Ea, pl. 5, 2 and pl. 8, 14: the masterpiece of this appalling style is the alaba London 1928. 7-19. 3 (*B.M. Qv.* 3, pl. 25, a-b). 904: '4th c. graves' is a slip for '3rd.'

**Corinth VI: Coins, 1896-1929.** By KATHERINE M. EDWARDS. Pp. xii + 172; 10 collotype plates. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1933.

**Excavations at Olynthus VI: The Coins found at Olynthus in 1931.** By DAVID M. ROBINSON. Pp. xiv + 111; 23 collotypes, 6 half-tone plates: sketch map and plan. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press; London: Humphrey Milford, 1933. 521, 6d.

These two publications bear witness to the increasing recognition of the importance of coins to general archaeology. From the excavators' point of view questions of rarity and condition are irrelevant; of style, and even of type, often only secondary; each coin is a document and to be recorded as such. The results thus obtained are sometimes striking. Thus Mr. Robinson appears to us, as in his earlier volume (*Olynthus III, Coins*), to obtain further and complete confirmation from the coins for the belief that his site is Olynthus and that it was never re-inhabited after the destruction of the city by Philip. Miss Edwards is able to shew that there was a plentiful bronze coinage down to the sack of Corinth though it has hitherto been considered to cease more than a century earlier. Mr. Robinson also attempts to draw conclusions from the foreign coins found at Olynthus as to its trade relations with various cities of the Greek world. This is an interesting field of inquiry, but similar material from other sites besides Olynthus and Corinth (it is already available for Priene, Sardis, Assos and in part Athens and Sparta) must be studied comparatively before we can even learn what questions to put and what kind of answer to expect: it is hard to say, at present, at what point in the scale casual findings of the coins of one city on the site of another begin to acquire significance. The specialist will find much to interest him in both volumes, hoards of fine coins of the Chalcidian League at Olynthus, unpublished varieties, types and even mints from both places. But is it necessary to publish in such detail, and to illustrate with such extravagance, so many common coins? In the majority of cases a catalogue reference is all that is required for documentation, and if full description and illustration had been restricted to coins having importance in themselves and not as mere site documents, both books might have been within the reach of many numismatists who would have been glad to possess them.

J. D. B.



**University of Oxford: Ashmolean Museum: Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins.** By J. G. MILNE. Pp. lxxviii + 155; 7 colotype plates, 2 tables. Oxford University Press, 1933. 42s.

In this catalogue of Alexandrian coins in the Ashmolean (the majority of them formerly in his own collection) Dr. Milne has concentrated the fruits of a lifelong study of the subject. That the collection contains nearly 5500 pieces, twice as many as the similar B. M. Catalogue and only 1000 less than the famous Dartari Collection, gives some idea of its scope. A novel and highly ingenious, but not too difficult, system of abbreviations permits a high degree of compression in describing the coins; and this might advantageously be used (with suitable modifications) in similar fields where the coin types have become more or less standardised. The descriptions are preceded by an Introduction containing short essays on the organisation and output of the Mint, denominations, types, the puzzling 'Nome Coins,' etc., and there is a summary of hoards.

Questions may be raised on certain points, e.g. the statement that 'Alexandrian coins are rarely found outside Egypt except sporadically,—stray specimens—as far West as Britain—casual wanderers, like Byzantine and Oriental coins which occur in the same way': this requires considerable qualification, for it is a fact, whatever its significance, that at least one Alexandrian find (the Fetter Lane hoard) has been made in England, and that individual coins are not infrequently found, sometimes on or near ancient sites, and usually in such a way as to make it unlikely that they are recent comers (see Hill in *Num. Chron.*, 1930, p. 335). Byzantine or Oriental coins, on the other hand, are hardly ever thus found. But on the whole the Introduction gives easily the best survey of the subject to date, and with the excellent plates and catalogue makes the book indispensable for any student of the subject, or of the by-ways of Roman art and history which it illustrates. It may be hoped that the Visitors of the Ashmolean will be encouraged by the success of this venture to continue the publication of their numismatic collections.

**Griechische Steinschriften als Ausdruck lebendigen Geistes:** nach Aufzeichnungen und Darlegungen von ARTHUR MUTHMANN bearbeitet und herausgegeben von M. HARTGE. Pp. 80; 8 plates. Freiburg im Breisgau: Urban Verlag, 1933. 3m.

In this little book Miss Hartge discusses Greek

writing as it is exemplified in inscriptions on stone which date from the archaic and classical periods. The work was undertaken on the suggestion of Dr. Muthmann and incorporates a number of observations contributed by him. Its aim is to apply to the Greek script the methods and tests of graphology, 'the biology of writing,' a science recently inaugurated by psychiatry, which 'regards the individual formation of the script as a basis for the investigation of the psychological character of the writer and of his period' (p. 10). Its conclusion is that Greek writing on stone lends itself to a biologically-graphological examination and that in the apparently dead signs used in that writing we can feel something of the pulse-beat of the Greeks (p. 62).

Papyri and written ostraka are excluded because they date from the fourth and later centuries and are derived from Egypt, texts scratched upon ostraka because so few of them can be assigned to Greece proper and the writing is so largely influenced by the material, painted inscriptions for the less convincing reason that they are so short and do not cover the whole field of the vases on which they occur. The field of observation, thus limited, is divided into three periods, the archaic (down to the close of the seventh century), the transitional (from the beginning of the sixth to the middle of the fifth century) and the classical (the later fifth and earlier fourth centuries); subsequent developments are excluded from the survey. Writing is regarded as an art, like architecture or sculpture, as one of the ways in which man finds self-expression. No regard is paid to the meaning conveyed by the written word, and so the province of graphology is marked off from that of epigraphy.

The plates are excellent, and the author's interpretation of the character of the Greek race in general and of certain communities within it (she professes to find reflected in their several scripts the individualism of Boeotia, the backwardness of Euboea, the cultural progressiveness of Ephesus and Miletus, the rigid uniformity of Sparta) is interesting and suggestive, if not always wholly convincing. In particular, the field of investigation seems somewhat too narrow and the confidence with which the author assumes the correctness of the methods and the findings of graphology too unquestioning to permit one who is a mere epigraphist to lay down the book without some misgivings.



**Fouilles de Delphes. Tome III : Épigraphie.**  
**Fasc. III : Inscriptions depuis le Trésor**  
**des Athéniens jusqu'aux Bases de Gélion.**  
 By G. DAUX and A. SALAË. Pp. ii + 146; 2  
 plates and 16 figs. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1932.

In the fascicule before us we have a further valuable instalment of the epigraphical treasures of Delphi, which appear to be well-nigh inexhaustible. Not that the volume of which it forms a part professes to be a *corpus* of Delphian inscriptions: as a general rule, those are excluded which were discovered and published prior to the commencement of the French excavations, save in cases where important supplements or corrections call for note. The order followed is topographical, and the present section comprises the inscriptions, 176 in number, engraved on monuments flanking the Sacred Way between the Treasury of the Athenians and that of the Cyrenians, or discovered in this part of the sanctuary and not identified as belonging to monuments which stood elsewhere. The work, based upon topographical and epigraphical materials collected by M. E. Bourguet, was undertaken by M. Daux, who, hampered by ill-health, has found in the later stages of his task a valuable coadjutor in Professor A. Salaë. There is not, we must admit, much variety in the texts here presented—of which 73 are munimission documents and 71 are honorary decrees or brief summaries of their content—nor can any of them claim to be of outstanding historical interest: nevertheless, the thoroughness and the accuracy with which the editors have performed their exacting task leave nothing to be desired and render this section worthy of the great work of which it forms a part.

**Municipalité d'Alexandrie : le Musée gréco-romain, 1931-1932.** By E. BRECCIA. Pp. 52, with 59 plates and 10 figs. Bergamo: Istituto italiano d'arti grafiche, 1933.

Further exploration of the Hadra cemetery at Alexandria, and a discussion of the sculptures on the grave-reliefs; various discoveries in the neighbourhood, including a new church at St. Menas and a late-Antonine coin-hoard; and a campaign of excavation at Oxyrhynchos—such is the fare Dr. Breccia offers us this year. From the last-named site he has not only papyri, but important sculptural finds to report: of classical times two interesting reclining statues of priestesses, and an Athena of the Velletri type; of the Christian period, a rich series of carved panels. The illustration is commendably full and detailed.

**Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung.** By KARL PREHENDANZ. Pp. xvi + 372; 2 maps. Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1933. 20 m.

To those who have been eagerly awaiting the indispensable third and final volume of the *Griech. Zauberpapyri* it will come as something of a surprise to learn that Dr. Prehdanz has produced in its stead a manual of papyrology. How the author in the midst of his other labours has succeeded in compiling a work of this scope, packed with references and bearing on every page evidence of the most exhaustive reading, is indeed difficult to conceive, and whatever opinion may be formed of its merits we must admit that it is a monument of industry.

Even those who have merely skimmed some of the volumes of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* will have been impressed by the great range of subjects touched upon by the science of papyrology, and will see how carefully a work like the present needs to be planned; and it is in the plan of the book rather than in its execution that its defects lie. It may seem an easy matter to define papyrology—the study and interpretation of all documents written on papyrus. Actually, however, it is both more and less than this. To take the limitations first: the enormous range of scripts and languages represented on papyrus—hieroglyphic, hieratic, demotic, Coptic, Greek, Latin, Aramaic, Hebrew, Syriac, Pehlevi, Arabic—no less than the vast period of time, nearly 3000 years, which they cover, make it impossible for any one scholar to master the subject as a whole; and since the recent death of that modern Eratosthenes, Karl Wessely, I doubt if any papyrologist can claim acquaintance with even the majority of the languages I have mentioned. Accordingly, a tacit agreement has been reached whereby 'papyrology' without qualification means Greek papyrology, for at least 90 per cent. of the workers in this field know no other language.

On the other hand, the mere reading of papyri is only the first step in their study; a century ago, it is true, scholars thought decipherment a sufficiently meritorious achievement in itself, and the earliest editions were provided with only a minimum of commentary; but gradually papyrology has been enlarging its domain, until it now implies the history, and history in the widest sense of the word, of Graeco-Roman Egypt. This is all the truer since archaeology as an organised branch of study, such as is pursued in Greece or Italy, can hardly be said to exist in Graeco-Roman Egypt; most of the excavations carried out in Egyptian towns and



villages of this period, not excluding those of the Egypt Exploration Society's Graeco-Roman Branch, have been admittedly for the main purpose of unearthing papyri, and it is only within the last few years that the University of Michigan has undertaken the systematic excavation of a Graeco-Roman village (Karanis on the edge of the Fayoum), a pioneer work to which justice is hardly done in this book. But in addition to a thousand years of Egyptian history, papyrology is, by reason of the recovery of lost Greek literary works, intimately connected with the study of Greek literature; there is indeed some difference on this point, and it has been argued, with considerable justice, that the circumstance of Bacchylides being known to us almost solely from papyri is purely fortuitous; and that, apart from being evidence of literary tastes in Egypt, these papyri have really nothing to do with papyrology. But despite this argument, the association of literary and non-literary papyri has persisted, and at present there is no prospect of the alliance being broken up.

It is not easy to determine the field which Dr. Preisendanz's book is intended to cover. It opens with two lengthy, well-documented, and generally admirable monographs, on mediæval papyri of western Europe, and on the Herculanæum rolls. It might seem ungrateful to qualify one's praise of these two chapters (and it is something of a feat, even for a foreigner, to write of Herculanæum without quoting Wordsworth!), but the fact remains that the connexion of these subjects with papyrology as defined above is of the slightest; they have nothing whatever to do with Egypt, and their discovery and study gave no impetus to Egyptian papyrology.

Secondly, Dr. Preisendanz does not seem to have been able to make up his mind whether or no to include hieroglyphic and hieratic papyri. An account which omits all reference to e.g. the *Tale of the Two Brothers* and the *Poem of Pentaur* (there is no mention of the Sallier papyri throughout the book!) is worse than useless, for it merely delays the Greek student without informing the Egyptologist. Demotic and Coptic papyrology seem to be better represented, chiefly because the literature is so much smaller; but even so, the names of Prof. F. Ll. Griffith and Sir Herbert Thompson do not figure in the list of editions of Coptic papyri on p. 310, while for publications of Demotic texts the reader is simply referred to Schubart's *Einführung in die Papyrskunde*.

It is, then, as a history of Greek papyrology that Dr. Preisendanz's work must be judged.

The description of the origins and development of the study of Greek papyri is the main part of the book (pp. 67-259), and it can be said without reserve that it is far away the most successful.<sup>1</sup> Hitherto an adequate scientific account has been lacking, though many excellent sketches have appeared, notably those in Wilcken's *Grundzüge der Papyruskunde* and Deissmann's *Licht vom Osten*, and Dr. Preisendanz has thus supplied a long-felt want. The plan on which he has disposed his material is perhaps not quite satisfactory, being partly chronological, partly territorial, partly neither the one nor the other. The opening sections naturally deal with the older finds (*Die frühesten Funde*, pp. 67-101; *Die ältere Papyrusforschung: ihre Ausgabe*, pp. 101-109), for papyrology falls very conveniently into two periods, the old haphazard collecting of stray finds by fellahin, and the new era of careful excavation and intensive study. Conveniently, too, each of these periods begins with a well-defined date—the discovery of the *Charta Bogiana* in 1778, and the great find of Fayoum papyri exactly one hundred years later. The Fayoum papyri and the great Rainer collection in Vienna to which the bulk of them found their way have a chapter to themselves (*Die Neuere Zeit*, pp. 110-124); this is followed by a section with the rather misleading title of *Die systematischen Gräbungen* (pp. 124-159); it is, in fact, an account of British papyrology, beginning with the work of Petrie, going on to that of the EEF, under Grenfell and Hunt, and concluding with a survey of the work of the British Museum. The remaining material is divided into two chapters, one of great length on *Deutsche Forschung* (pp. 160-211), and one shorter on *Papyrologie des Auslandes* (pp. 212-259), the latter subdivided into different countries but excluding Britain, which has been already dealt with.

By slightly rearranging the material and eliminating some traces of hasty preparation, such as the statements that the Hibeh papyri 'range from 301 to 222 B.C.' (p. 146), or that 'no Ptolemaic papyri have been found at Oxyrhynchus' (p. 141), the result would be a first-class survey of papyrology. Unfortunately, as much cannot be said of the two final divisions of the book, the Catalogue of Collections of Papyri (pp. 260-300), and the Bibliography of Papyrological Literature (pp. 301-339). As for the former, the author frankly confesses its in-

<sup>1</sup> The story of the acquisition of the Aristotle and Bacchylides papyri by the British Museum, however, sadly needs references to Budge's racy autobiography *By Nile and Tigris*, ii. 147-154, 345-355.



completeness, and pleads the difficulty of obtaining the necessary information; but the fact remains that this list repeatedly omits standard publications even though in several cases these are referred to elsewhere in the book. Thus, for the British Museum there is no mention of Bell's *Jews and Christians* or of the important Greek and Egyptian magical papyrus recently published by Bell, Nock and Thompson; the list of Petrie papyri does not include Smyly's *Papyri from Gurob*; the publications of the Società Italiana omit the fine series of facsimiles published by Medea Norsa (*Papiri Greci delle Collezioni Italiane*). On the other hand, there is a surprising amount of entirely superfluous material, e.g. the edition of the Freer Gospels, in the American section, or the list of leaden *defixiones* from Attica and the Etruscan linen book in the Zagreb Museum, which purport to represent the papyrological collections of Jugoslavia.

The final section of the book is disappointing; since an exhaustive bibliography of papyrology is now in preparation by an international committee, it is difficult to see what purpose can be served by printing here a bibliography which is alike too brief to be of much service to the expert and too ill-chosen to be recommended to the student. For example, the section *Geldwesen* omits the appendix to *Tebtunis Pap.* I on Ptolemaic currency, and Reinach's masterly résumé of these problems in *REG.* xli; nor is any reference made to the contributions of such authorities as Segrè, J. G. Milne, or Mickwitz. *Monopoli* is not represented by Heichelheim's authoritative article in *RE.* nor *Vermessenen* by Westermann's admirable survey in *JEA.* xviii, 16-27. Under *Chronologie* Edgar's brilliant work on the Macedonian calendar is passed over in favour of E. Meyer's unfortunate revision of Ptolemaic chronology. These examples must suffice to show that this section needs a drastic remodelling. The same might be said of the two atrocious sketch-maps, neither of which bears any indication of scale.

If criticisms have outweighed praises in this review, it is only because the excellence of the greater part of the book makes the lapses from the high standard there set all the more to be regretted. All who read the book will look forward to a revised edition which would win for the author not only the unanimous gratitude of the international *Res publica dei Papyri-forscher*, but of all serious students of the classics.

T. C. S.

**Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften.** VON EDWIN MAYER. **Band II: Satzlehre, Analytischer Teil: Erste Hälfte,** 1926, pp. xx + 390; **Zweite Hälfte,** 1. Lieferung, 1933, pp. xiv + 1-336; 2. Lieferung, 1934, pp. xv + 337-629. Berlin und Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co.

The first volume of Mayer's monumental work on the grammar of the papyri of the Ptolemaic period, which dealt with phonetics and accentuation, appeared as long ago as 1906 (second edition 1923), and has long been one of the indispensable implements of papyrology. The second volume, which is devoted to syntax, is planned on a much more generous scale and is appearing by instalments. The increase in size is due in part to the vast accumulation of material since 1906, but in part also to a more systematic treatment and a fuller apparatus of illustration. Some readers may find the riches offered them rather embarrassing, but, as the author remarks in the preface to the second half, excess is perhaps better here than defect. In dealing with papyri so much allowance has to be made for phonetic equivalences, mere slips of the pen or the individual vagaries of an illiterate writer that often only an accumulation of instances can assure us that we are in presence of a true grammatical phenomenon.

The three instalments of Vol. II now published contain the *Analytischer Teil* of the syntactical section, in two halves, of which the first occupies a separate instalment, while the second is divided between two. The *Synthetischer Teil*, which will conclude the work, is promised before long. In his general preface to Vol. II, Mayer explains the principles on which he has arranged his material. He considers that the meaning of word-forms (*Bedeutung der Wortformen*) should be treated under the head of syntax rather than under that of inflexional forms (*Formenlehre*), but he distinguishes between forms with a relatively fixed meaning (*bedeutungsfest*) and forms whose meaning depends on their relation to other elements in the sentence. The former, which he defines as 'die Geschlechts- und Zahlformen des Nomen, die Steigerungsformen, der Rufsaus, die Genus-, Tempus- und Modusformen des Verbum,' he discusses in the first half of the analytic portion, the latter in the second. Each half has its own subject- and word-indices.

Even in its present unfinished state the book is an amazing monument of German thoroughness and an indispensable work of reference.



Its utility is by no means limited to Ptolemaic papyri, for the tendencies illustrated were for the most part continued in succeeding centuries; but it is none the less to be wished that someone would do for the Roman and Byzantine periods what Mayser is doing for the Ptolemaic. An equal thoroughness of treatment would hardly be necessary; for a scholar who undertook the task could use Mayser's detailed list of illustrative instances as a basis and confine himself to tracing the development and extension of the phenomena here exemplified.

**Papyri Groninganae.** By A. G. ROOS. (*Verhandelingen der Kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afd. Letterkunde*, N.R. XXXII. 4) Pp. viii + 67, with 7 plates. Amsterdam: N. V. Noord-hollandsche U.M., 1933.

This publication includes 22 papyri selected from a small collection in the University Library at Groningen, with 2 from the University Library at Amsterdam. There is nothing of outstanding importance among them: the literary items are a few lines from an unidentified work, probably historical, and a fragment of Aeschines in *Ctesiphontem*; of the rest, the most interesting is a fourth-century A.D. *donatio mortis causa*. The editing is competently done, and, though they do not add much to our knowledge—the most novel fact recorded in them is the use of goat's-flesh for food—it is useful to have them placed on record.

**Life and Letters in the Papyri.** By J. G. WINTER. (*Jerome Lectures*.) Pp. viii + 308. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1933. \$3.50.

These lectures give a general survey of the additions to our knowledge, more particularly as regards the period of Roman rule in Egypt, derived from the papyri. The first chapter sketches the history of the period, and shows how it is illustrated by these documents: the next two deal with the evidence they provide concerning the life of the people: then references to Christianity are collected from private letters; and finally summaries of the literary recoveries in the fields of Greek poetry and Greek prose complete the review. Some novel pieces of information are introduced from unpublished papyri in the collection of Michigan University, and in the footnotes revised readings or new interpretations are put forward on occasion. The book is well written, and should serve its avowed purpose of interesting non-specialists in papyrology, while it will also be useful to the specialist.

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**A History of Olynthus:** with a *prosopographia* and *testimonia*. By MABEL GUDE. (*Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology*, No. 17.) Pp. xii + 110. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, and London: Humphrey Milford, 1933. 12s. 6d.

The scheme of this little book is as follows: Introduction (on the period 1000–479 B.C.), in six pages; three chapters on 'the Chalcidians, 479–401 B.C.,' 'the Olynthians, 401–348 B.C.,' and 'Epilogue,' 32 pages in all; a *prosopographia*; *testimonia* (the literary evidence given); and inscriptions. It is not a history of Olynthus, but a collection of the literary and epigraphical evidence, preceded by a narrative which, for a history, is of the sketchiest character. It was not the author's intention to state the archaeological evidence; but we should have expected more references to it. In the introduction a quotation or two is given on the physical geography of the district, but there is no account of this and no map. An interesting, but not convincing, attempt is made to reconcile the literary and numismatic evidence with regard to the Chalcidian league: Miss Gude argues for a synoecism of Olynthus with some small neighbouring towns in 432, but the whole called *κατασέτε*, and a league of many states formed about 390, with Olynthus as the dominant party. The epigraphical evidence hardly bears this out any more than the numismatic. There is no discussion of this league in relation to other Greek federal systems.

The collection of literary evidence (though some of it is such that without the context it is barely intelligible, and a bare reference would have been as good) and of the inscriptions (though not complete) will be useful. The *prosopographia* appears to be very full, though dates are omitted in a few cases. But the object of the book would have been better fulfilled by a running commentary on the evidence, with appendices, than by the sketchy 'history,' followed by the evidence.

A. W. G.

**King Agis of Sparta, and his Campaign in Arkadia in 418 B.C.** By W. J. WOODHOUSE. Pp. x + 161. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1933. 12s. 6d.

Prof. Woodhouse here sets out in great detail, clearly and methodically, his views on the Mantinea campaign and 'Thucydides' account of it which he first made known in *BSA* xxii (1916–8). He begins with a translation of 'Thucydides' v, 61–75, and deals, chapter by



chapter, with the nature of the problem, the topography, the strategy and tactics of the opposing forces, the numbers involved, and the time covered by the operations. He finds that Thucydides' narrative, apparently so straightforward, is 'simply a tissue of incoherences, irrelevancies, and even downright absurdities' (though at the same time, very oddly, his 'scientific quality as a military historian . . . is, of course, not here primarily in point'), and that Agis was, not merely a better and more level-headed general than Thucydides allows, but a commander of genius, to be compared only with Pausanias, that other master of war degraded to a bungler by that other incompetent historian who could only see facts through malicious Athenian eyes. That there are serious gaps in the narrative (of which, I think, Thucydides was aware) is true, and Woodhouse brings these out well. But neither his criticisms of the narrative nor (even granting the truth of that criticism) his reconstruction of the campaign is to me at all convincing; to me his Agis is a greater bungler and even luckier commander than the original, for he owed his success not only to the folly of his enemy (in whom Woodhouse can see no merit of any kind), but to the very sensible insubordination of the two polemarchs. I find, as well, a good deal in the translation to be inaccurate, and, what is most surprising in a book by Woodhouse, the treatment of the topography inadequate; there might also have been a better map, contoured, and certainly references, in this connexion, to Philippson, Fougères and Kromayer. The discussion of the one real crux in Thucydides' narrative (66.1-2) is superficial. The numerous quotations of ponderous truisms from Bernhardi and Clausewitz do not add to the value of the book.

A short criticism such as this cannot do justice to Prof. Woodhouse; for he builds up his case by a detailed discussion, to which a detailed reply is needed. For that there may be another opportunity. Not that a reply, however well argued, will affect him; he ignores all but one of Kromayer's arguments, and anticipates any reply in his preface: 'Some there will be, no doubt, perhaps many, who by impugning the cogency of the argument or the legitimacy of the method will endeavour to discredit the conclusions here reached. There will always be those who prefer to stick to their old mumpimus. With them science has nothing to do.'

A. W. G.

**Alexanders Kampf gegen Poros.** By BERNHARD BRELOER. Pp. xii + 208, with map, 5 photographs and 7 plans. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933.

This lengthy book falls into two parts. In the first, the military operations against Poros are examined in the light of source-criticism of Arrian; in the second, they are examined again in relation to the topography. It is a little confusing, but it does enable the author to bring out his points. Great pains are taken over the source-criticism, the conclusion being that Ptolemy wrote only his own *acta*, and that the general picture of the Poros-battle is Arrian, not Ptolemy; Arrian took Alexander's orders, not from Ptolemy, but from the *Journal* or some other source. Right or wrong, this depreciation of Ptolemy merits consideration. As to topography, Breloer knows the ground and gives much the best exposition yet given of the Jhelum theory, with some pertinent criticism of Sir Aurel Stein's recent revival of the Jalalpur theory, though I daresay Stein will have something further to say. To myself it has always seemed most important that no upholder of Jalalpur can explain Arrian's reference to the great bend of the river (above Jhelum); but I suppose this century-old controversy will endure till somebody discovers the site of Bucephala.

So far the book is valuable, and there are some useful suggestions on other matters; but the battle itself fails. Breloer believes that a harmony behind all the sources can be found, which seems to me a wrong method; but he discards or misunderstands more than he harmonises. His tabulation of Alexander's orders is a good idea, but of those before the main battle he says frankly that his translation is not borne out by the Greek text; it is not. He throws over Arrian's plain statement that Poros marched away to meet Alexander, and says that the reference to the sand at the place where he ultimately took position is Arrian's invention, as are the elephants left on the bank to face Craterus. In his scheme, Poros fights on the bank opposite Craterus and on two fronts, in the formation of a horseshoe square (the horseshoe, we are merely told, is *selbstverständlich*); its base is infantry, facing the river to ward off Craterus; the semicircle is infantry, with cavalry at each end, and the elephants outside the infantry, but it is properly stressed that at each end, next the cavalry, was a body of infantry unguarded by elephants. Alexander defeats the cavalry and breaks through the unguarded section on the left, as does Coenus



on the right; the two thus get into the square and take the infantry in rear. The only source which suggests that Porus fought a double battle is the Metz Epitome; but Breloer's scheme seems partly to depend on misunderstandings of τὸ κατὰ πλάτος and of μέγην in Arrian v, 15, 4 and 6. He also misunderstands the orders to Coenus, and takes Coenus, with untrained horses, right round Porus' front; he has not noticed Bauer's correct translation (though he bibliographies him), which has been followed in the *Cambridge Ancient History* and by Wilcken, works he does not know. His battle would shatter on Coenus alone. He claims Curtius' general support for his arrangement; but Curtius makes Coenus attack Porus' left, and, like Polyæmus, supports Bauer. Now if one throws over Arrian and re-makes a battle, one must at least make it plausible; and it is not plausible that Porus in square left two sections of infantry unguarded by elephants as a gift to Alexander (in line they were, of course, flank guards). Besides, the effect of the real battle was to make all the generals, when their time came, struggle to get elephants, which they regularly used as screens against cavalry; Porus' elephants, therefore, must have hampered Alexander's horse badly, but in Breloer they do not interfere with its movements in the least. That the Indians were still fighting in retreat when Porus surrendered to avert a massacre is probable enough; otherwise I fear that Breloer's battle was not Alexander's.

W. W. T.

**Aratos of Sicyon.** By F. W. WALBANK. (*Thirlwall Prize Essay*, 1933.) Pp. xi + 222. Cambridge: University Press, 1933. 8s.6d.

Mr. Walbank prepares the ground by a careful discussion of the sources, and gathers up the chronological problems into an appendix. The main narrative thus disencumbered is free to flow as smoothly as the intricate nature of the subject-matter and the author's extreme caution allow; the result, though inspiring confidence on the ground of factual accuracy, is not exciting. One admits in extenuation the paucity of the source-material, and is reluctant to complain if the great idea of federalism which is at stake is apt to be lost in a maze of petty contentions. But it is permissible to feel that Mr. Walbank has been too relentless in eschewing the picturesque, and might have made more of such opportunities as, for instance, the liberation of Sicyon afforded to enliven his story. Only in the last chapter which summarises the character and achievements of Aratus does he let himself go, and there one

gathers the impression that his immersion in the details of the period has seriously warped his sense of proportion: is it not rather absurd to compare Cleomenes with Napoleon? The book would have been made easier to use by the inclusion of a map.

B. S. P.

**Griechische und Römische Religion.** By S. WISE und M. P. NILSSON. (*Einführung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, II, 4.) Pp. 161. Leipzig: Teubner, 1931.

It appears to be the fate of this excellent manual to reach English periodicals very late; this must excuse the absurdity of reviewing it here some three years after it left the press. To those who do not already know it, the reviewer would point out that it is simply a revision of the familiar 'Wide-Nilsson' of 1922, but an excellent revision, leaving little uncorrected of the few mistakes the older work had (although Hume's *Natural History of Religion* still has a superfluous 'the,' on p. 58) and managing to insert, with a minimum of disturbance to the paragraphs, a great deal of new matter in the shape of references to literature published during the intervening decade.

H. J. R.

**Dionysos, Mythos und Kultus.** By WALTER F. OTTO. (*Frankfurter Studien zur Religion und Kultur der Antike*, Bd. IV.) Pp. 196. Frankfurt a/M.: Klostermann, 1933. 7.50m.

This monograph does not add much to learning nor to the reputation of the generally excellent series of which it forms part. The author is impatient of both the philological and the anthropological approaches to the study of religious problems (incidentally, he knows very little of the latter method), and abandons them both for one of his own, which makes it easier to believe the story of another German author, the one who, having to write about the camel, disdained to visit the Zoo and evolved the creature out of his inner consciousness. He rejects the arguments which show Dionysos to be a foreign god, and is quite sure that he is pure Greek. This does not prevent his name meaning 'the divine inhabitant of Nysa' (p. 59); apparently Nysa is a good Greek word and only the reader's stupidity prevents him seeing what it means, for Otto does not condescend to explain. The god is, then, primeval Greek and the recognition of his kinship to Apollo, the *erhabenste Höhe* of Greek religion (p. 193), by no means an accident nor a bit of ecclesiastical politics. Apparently the Greeks themselves were slow to grasp all the mysteries



of their god, for on one point at least they had, so it seems, to wait for Nonnos to see the true inwardness of his mythology (p. 161). But Dionysiac legend is full of enigmas; for example, it is 'von tiefer Bedeutung' that Herakles's body was washed ashore during a festival of Ariadne (p. 97). Especially are the names in it significant, including those which the uninitiated would fancy to be *οὐδὲν πρὸς διόγνωσιν*. Thus, there is a close connexion to be found between Artemis Orthia, Geryon's dog Orthos and Dionysos 'Ορεός (p. 106); while, needless to say, Hyakinthos the son of Oibalos (who is Dionysos over again, p. 188, one of the few things which seem to the reviewer to have any connexion with the facts) is the same as that Hyakinthos whose daughter or daughters were sacrificed in Athens.

As to the nature of the god, when much romantic and semi-poetical language, in which the author is rich, has been brushed aside, nothing very new is said, indeed nothing which anyone acquainted with the general characteristics of fertility-cults has not long recognised. Dionysos is a god of life and death alike, whose power is shown by madness and the breaking down of all the usual restraints (in other words, perfectly normal and typical saturnalia, to which scores of savage and barbarian religions, comparable to that of Thrace, furnish parallels), a god whose power often brings terror and disaster to his votaries, not least to the women with whom he is especially associated. The rest of the work is a cloudy sort of mysticism, more suitable to the philosophers of Nephelokykia than to the sanity and learning which marks the best German thought.

H. J. R.

**Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius and Vergil.** By G. E. DUCKWORTH. Pp. 135. Princeton University Press, and London: H. Milford, 1933. 9s.

No one can deny the amount of careful study, devoted to the three great Epics of the Old World, that has gone to the making of this meritorious essay. All the various methods of technique, employed by Homer, Apollonius and Vergil, to heighten the interest of their readers in the fate of the characters represented, are here reviewed and compared, and contrasted with the general disregard for this use of suspense as to the future, and foreshadowing of what the writer intends shall come to pass, shown by the Moderns. The primary question as to whether surprise, as with us, or suspense, as with them, is

more efficacious in engaging the interest of the reader or hearer, is not decided here in favour of the newer way. The emotional and the rational are both essential in literary works of art. But it is the modern habit not to put the reader in possession of the dénouement, but let him guess what it is likely to be, till *finis coronat opus*. The older way, originated by Homer, was by all manner of hints, foreshadowings, innuendoes, similes, prophecies, omens, forebodings, and indications to give the reader, and often the character portrayed, an inkling of what awaited him. Nor did this detract from the interest of the story, for do we not all know the pleasurable feeling with which we read again and re-read a favourite book, which we know almost by heart, and yet look forward to renewing our former delight in its perusal!

By numberless instances we are shown that the technique of these great writers is so skilful in this respect, that though an adumbration of future events is given more or less fully according to circumstances, yet this foreshadowing is seldom so definite or certain as to preclude the possibility of the anticipation not being realised or not being well-founded, and the reader is left on the *qui vive* to see whether what he expects and has been led to expect will happen as he expects. A good point in this connexion is made by the writer of this essay with respect to dramatic irony which 'arises from the simultaneous heightening of the reader's anticipation, and the stressing of the blindness of the characters.' An effective instance of the use of this irony by Vergil is the reception accorded by the Trojans to the wooden horse.

Two kinds of foreshadowing have to be differentiated, one when the events foretold or hinted at occur within the limits of the Epic itself, the other when it is extending to events that occur subsequently to the actual story narrated. Such in the *Iliad* are the death of Achilles and the fall of Troy. Vergil carries this much further, and extends his vision of the future of Rome down to his own time.

This little compartment in the study of Epic literature has been taken by Mr. Duckworth as his sphere of work, and it has been so thoroughly explored that we may consider it as done once for all. It was worth doing, but it cannot be denied that the great number of instances cited in exemplification of the thesis and their general similarity, in spite of the skill with which they are marshalled, makes the perusal and appraisal of them somewhat tedious. One important result obtained in the process is the insight which we gain of the difference in artistic



technique between the great masters of Epic, whose works have been so admirably analysed here.

C. R. H.

**Bacchylide.** By A. SEVEREYNS. Pp. 81; 1 plan. Liège University, 1933. 40 fr.

This little essay with two short appendices on the Games of Greece and a list of Cean victors, gives us all that is known or conjecturable of the life of Bacchylides, who ranks with the great Lyrius of Greece. That he was inferior to Pindar, his immediate rival, in pomp of diction and power of song is clear from what remains of his work and from the verdict of Longinus. We know too that Pindar's services commanded higher fees. Yet Bacchylides is less obscure and less abnormal. Perhaps his greatest failing was an inordinate use of somewhat irrelevant compound epithets.

Bacchylides was born, like Simonides his uncle, at Iulis in Ceos, about 517 B.C., according to M. Severeys' careful and convincing analysis of all the facts. This makes him very nearly coeval with Pindar, and renders their lifelong competition more natural, for he seems to have begun almost as early as Pindar to court the patronage of those who could pay handsomely to have their victories in the local or Great Games of Greece recorded in resounding verse. The prestige and influence of Simonides no doubt gave him an early start in his race for fame. Like Pindar, he began his poetical career in Thessaly with the celebration of a local athlete, and later in Macedonia. Both poets then showed their skill in Aegina, where Pindar had already won the favour of the Aeginetans and so had a distinct advantage over his competitor. At Athens Bacchylides got more on terms with him and even secured a commission from a fellow-countryman of Pindar's. At Athens the cult of the hero Theseus was at its height, and our poet excelled himself in his masterpiece, the dithyramb on Theseus and Minos. Here both dialogue and incidents are highly dramatic. The two heroes are together on board the ship which is conveying the shameful human tribute from Athens to Crete. The poem, which is briefly summarised in our book, was written as a chant for a procession in honour of Apollo and for the glorification of Athens.

Sicily was the next field of his operations, and here he triumphed over Pindar by receiving the order for an ode on Hiero's chariot victory at Olympia, which had been confidently expected by his rival. Pindar's jealousy is

apparent in his sneering allusion to Bacchylides and his uncle in the second Olympic ode. 'He is the true artist (*σοφός*),' he says, 'who is one by nature; the two learned ones, many-worded blusterers, are but as crows with their futile cawings against the bird divine of Zeus.'

The Sicilian episode was followed by a sudden reverse in the shape of an unaccountable exile from his native land, if we can trust the single testimony of Plutarch, as M. Severeys does. The fact that Pindar was at this time commissioned to write an ode for the Ceans supports Plutarch's statement. The date of the exile, which was passed in the Peloponnese, was somewhere between 475 and 452. Soon after this date he must have died, as we hear no more of him. A new discovery in Egypt, and those which relate to Bacchylides have been curiously numerous, may at any time throw fresh light on such points.

All students of Greek literature must be grateful for M. Severeys' careful investigation of our poet's career and his dating of his writings together with the chief events of his life, the results of which seem to be eminently sound.

C. R. H.

**The Orestes of Aeschylus.** Translated into English Verse by THE EARL OF LONGFORD and CHRISTINE LONGFORD. Pp. 150. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., and Oxford: Blackwell, 1933. 5s.

This translation, like that of J. T. Sheppard, reviewed last year, was prepared for Stage use, but is a complete version. The object has been, as stated in the Preface, to give the ordinary play-goer a plain and readable rendering of the whole, although much had to be cut out on the stage. The translators, who disclaim the title of scholars, do claim that they have represented Aeschylus (why not Aischulos?) without distortion or addition. This seems to be not far from the truth. But a single sample will show that the translation is not very close to the text, e.g. *ὦ Ζεὺ Βασιλεῦ* (*Agam.* 355):

Hail, night those towers enfolding  
The doom of Ilion holding.  
Nor weak nor strong  
Nor old nor young  
From slavery withholding. (p. 22.)

Surely this leaves something to be desired. Even the great name of Zeus is omitted, and Night really requires a capital N. The whole of the second line, 'the winner of glorious prizes,' is ignored, and where do we find even a shadow of the splendid metaphor 'Who



didst cast upon the battlements of Troy a close-meshed net, so that no full-grown man nor yet any of the young could leap out of the drag-net of slavery?' Other regrettable omissions are such striking phrases as *ταλαντοῦχος ἐν μάχῃ* *δορός* (437), of Ares 'holding the balance in the clash of spears,' and the graphic word 'three-footed' of old men using a staff (l. 80).

Much of the diction is frankly prosaic. For instance, 'I see it clearly. It is their intention to establish a dictatorship.' The *stichomythia* between Clytemnestra and Agamemnon is no doubt difficult to render poetically, but it seems to want a lighter touch than we find here. On the other hand, the speech of Agamemnon on his entrance is adequately rendered. The main blemish in the metre of the blank verse is the over-use of tripping tribrachs. There are also too many double endings; and not a few lines halt in their scansion. The Choruses are perhaps too much varied in metre, and the rhymes are not always satisfactory. We want more lilt and go in the rendering, such as we do find here and there, e.g. on p. 92 in the passage beginning

How close is health to sickness,  
How near to joy is doom.

On p. 78 in the *Chorophoros* the *ἡ . . . ψαλμοί* of the text is translated as if it were a statement, not a question. On p. 26 'bows' should surely be 'boughs' (*οὐδόναι*), and what is 'Harém' doing as equivalent for women's quarters in a Greek home? The convenience of readers, who wish to compare the translation with the original, would have been much better served if the lines had been numbered.

The book has evidently been a labour of love for the two collaborators, whose work is curiously alike, and it is difficult to award the superiority to either.

C. R. H.

**Aristophanes: a study.** By GILBERT MURRAY. Pp. x + 268. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933. 7s. 6d.

A wide variety of readers will be grateful to Prof. Murray for this book, which, though modestly disclaimed as the result of research, contains a wealth of sound criticism and genuine appreciation of the greatest exponent of the Old Comedy. Indeed we should expect no less from one whose reputation for style and scholarship is so deservedly recognised.

After a valuable chapter on the background of Aristophanes, the plays are dealt with according to subject rather than strictly chronologically and are illustrated by many admirably

translated passages and enlivened with modern parallels. Prof. Murray regards Aristophanes as having stood for the ideals of Peace, Poetry and Piety, but one cannot help feeling that his activity in other spheres and interest in the problems of to-day make him too ready to regard Aristophanes as an apostle of Peace and Piety, and his animosity to Cleon as less personal than due to his hatred of the war policy which Cleon embodied. Again, while admitting that the change of atmosphere towards the New Learning between 424 and 399 increased the damaging impression made by the *Clouds*, the explanation of the play as a 'clash of humours' is surely inadequate. It may be argued that the appreciation of Euripides implied by the numerous parodies is really less significant than the inherent ridicule of this treatment. The penultimate chapter is devoted to an investigation of the opinions held by the ancient critics and the last chapter on the reasons for Menander's popularity and reputation in antiquity is a fitting conclusion and gives one a comprehensive view of the transition from the Old to the New Comedy.

It may be felt, however, that in his endeavour to adjust the balance more favourably to Aristophanes, the author has erred on the side of over-emphasising what appeals to him personally and of minimising the effect of the malicious humour and outrageous language without which Aristophanes is incomplete. Nor does Prof. Murray quite succeed in controverting the criticism in Plutarch's *Moralia* that 'the salt of Aristophanes is bitter and harsh with an astringency that bites and wounds when compared with that of Menander.'

**Ein neuer Brief Epikurs.** By C. JENSEN. (*Abh. Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl. 3. Folge*, Nr. 5.) Pp. 94. Berlin: Weidmann, 1933. 8 m.

This brochure is at once indispensable to serious students of Epicurus. When Professor Jensen edited the tenth book of the *Περὶ κειμένων* of Philodemus in 1911, the first nine columns of the papyrus roll were so disfigured that no continuous narrative could be elicited from them. Further study of the relics of Herculaneum has now enabled him to reveal their content, and to present us by a brilliant reconstruction with a new letter of Epicurus in almost complete form. It now appears that Philodemus in this tenth book illustrated the subject of pride by two letters of Epicurus and Aristo respectively. The former was written at the time of Timocrates' apostasy from the Garden, and relates to the serious obloquy which he proceeded to stir up against the school. Epicurus narrates a con-



version which he has had with the god Asclepius. By reporting this to an influential supporter he had hoped to counteract the machinations of Timocrates, but his purpose has been misunderstood by his own friends, and he has been accused of pride. He is at pains to defend himself, and concludes with a warning to philosophers never to succumb to this vice. Professor Jensen regards the letter as being especially important as a testimony to the 'deep religious feeling' of Epicurus and an antidote to the conventional notion that he relegated the gods to some far-off sphere completely out of contact with human affairs.

It need hardly be said that the editorial work is as thorough as one could wish, though we are promised a 'second part' dealing more fully with the form of the letter. B. S. P.

**Histoire de la Vie Byzantine: Empire et Civilisation. D'après les sources: Illustrée par les monnaies.** By N. JORDA. 3 Vols. Pp. 946. Bucharest: Chaussée Bonaparte 5, 1934. 100 frs.

This work embodies the contents of *The Byzantine Empire*, published by the present author in 1907, with the addition of as much new matter, based upon practically everything written about the subject since then. A second preface mentions many of these new materials, and the copious footnotes shew that the author, who has had access to Heisenberg's library, now in Bucharest, has neglected neither Serbian, Bulgarian, Russian, nor Hungarian sources in addition to those in more accessible languages. He has not, however, given, as Professor Koukoulis is doing, a 'life' of the people, as distinct from political, theological, and military affairs; only occasionally in his sketches of literature of the more vulgar sort do we catch a glimpse of the common man. Beginning with 527, he considers that 'the first Byzantine Emperor was Justinian,' who 'represents the union of the elements forming the essence of Byzantium,' and who 'was only purely Roman in his works of public utility.' At his accession, the empire's 'frontiers corresponded fairly accurately with those of Turkey before 1877,' linguistically, it resembled Austria-Hungary after 1866. It is argued that the Iconoclast emperors' real object was to weaken the Church, and that the 'great schism' was racial rather than theological. The Nicene Empire is shewn to have been, like the later Despotat of the Morea, more Greek than that of Constantinople, and Akominaos of Athens to have been the 'noblest' ecclesiastical figure of his time. The literary

judgments are interesting. The 'Roumanian Lévy' considers that Cantacuzene 'produced the best historical work written at Byzantium,' and that Constantine Manasses 'was not inferior to Milton'; describes Psellos as a mixture of 'delicacy and baseness'; calls Glykas, whose love of animals is emphasised, 'the Byzantine Buffon,' and Phorios 'the Becket of Byzantium'; and compares Prochodromos with Verlaine, the literary relations between Calabria and Constantinople with those between France and England up to the fourteenth century. The Roumanian ex-Premier is a busy man, who has found time to make, as well as write, history, and occasional signs of haste are noticeable, especially in the notes. Thus, 'Clundax' was not 'Canes' but Candia (ii, 177); *Seyrne* (iii, 126 n.<sup>2</sup>) should be *Valence*; no Duke of Athens was called 'Thibaut' (iii, 171); 'Jean' should be Gautier (iii, 172); the Venetian purchase of Salonika was in 1423, not '1420,' the Turkish capture of Athens in 1456, not '1455,' the losses of Nauplia and Coron-Modon by Venice were in 1540 and 1500, not in '1499' and '1503' (iii, 248, 291, 292); Cleopa, wife of the Despot Theodore II, was a Malatesta (iii, 262 n.<sup>1</sup>); Chios was not the possession of Nicolò Gattilusio (iii, 290), who should be substituted for 'Domenico,' as the last lord of Lesbos (iii, 295, where the dates of the Turkish conquest of Cyprus and Crete are wrong); the Byzantine monastery of Proussos is not 'in the Peloponnese' (ii, 245), but in Aetolia. The work contains 22 plates and a copious index. It is especially good, as might have been expected, in tracing the influence of Byzantium on the Balkans, and is the result of immense erudition ranging from Jassy to Jerusalem. W. M.

**Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ὑπὸ τοὺς Βυζαντινοὺς καὶ Φράγκους (330-1456).** By KOSTAS KAIROPHYLAS. Pp. 263. Athens: Hestia, 1933. 80 sp.

The author has expanded his monograph on *The French Duke of Athens* into a *History of Athens in the Middle Ages*—a popular and up-to-date Greek substitute for the work of Gregorovius. He is familiar with the literature of the complicated Frankish period, and his long residence in Italy and mastery of Italian enable him to understand the mentality of the Florentine rulers of Athens and the aims of the Venetians in Greek lands. He shews how Christianity (except for an interval under



Julian) and the foundation of Constantinople injured Athens, whereas nowadays the Piræus has taken the place of Constantinople as a port; he summarises the theory of Kampouroglous and Soteriou, that there was a Saracen raid on Athens in 896, where Georgians came to study on the eve of the Frankish conquest; and he mentions the tradition that the first bishop of Athens was Hierotheos, whose name was last October 4 adopted as the Greek patron-saint of the World Day for Animals. Free from racial bias, the author shares Rubió y Lluch's view that the Catalans were not so black as they have been painted, at least during the last part of their rule, and treated their Greek subjects better than the French Dukes had done, although during the French period good relations existed between the Catholic and the Orthodox churches despite the absence of a Greek Metropolitan. He does not mention Kampouroglous' theory that the 'Catalan Madonna,' now in the Byzantine Museum, was Genoese, and, with Soteriou and Orlandos, rejects the idea that, under the Acciajuoli, the Orthodox cathedral was the later 'Mosque of the Conqueror,' till recently the military bakery. The restoration of the Metropolitan was only one sign of the policy of the Florentines towards their Athenian subjects, whereas the Venetians valued Athens only as a strong fortress, the Akropolis as a castle, resembling in that the Turks. There are allusions to the Albanian colonisation of Attica and to the branch of the Acciajuoli's bank at Glarentza 'considered to be the equal of that in London.' The book contains 44 illustrations, some copied from Fanelli's *Atene Antica*.

W. M.

Μνήμεια τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας. By the Academy of Athens. Vol. I. Pp. xxxix + 402. Athens: Office of Publications of the Academy of Athens, 1932-1933. 1000 δρ.

This first volume of Greek historical sources which the Academy of Athens has published, with the generous assistance of Mme. Venizelos, contains the *Βραχέα χρονικά* of the late Sp. Lampros, edited by Professor Konst. I. Amantos, and the *Acta et Decreta Majoris Consilii Venetiarum res Criticas illustrantia 1255-1669*, collected and provided with an introduction by Count Spyridon M. Theotokas. The former portion consists of 57 chronological statements, of which one is in verse, dealing with the Turkish conquests and the later Palaiologoi, and possessing some special value for the history of Crete and Monemvasia. The Turkish capture of Athens in June, 1456, is frequently mentioned as are

the Acciajuoli, and the exact date of the capture of Nicaea is a new fact. The latest date mentioned is 1797. Most of these bare *Chronicles* are published for the first time, a few had been printed in Lampros' Νέος Ἑλληνισμός and elsewhere.

Of all the Venetian possessions in Greece, Crete has hitherto been the least adequately described, because the Venetian documents concerning that island had never been thoroughly published, despite the valuable labours of Tafel and Thomas, Prodelli, Lamansky, Noiret, and Gerland, whose library has lately been acquired by the Gennadeion at Athens. Theotokas has long waited an opportunity to publish the result of his laborious researches at Venice, and here presents the first instalment, the accuracy of which is attested by the director of the Archives, who states that 'all the copies have been collated with the originals by the two chief archivists.' It contains extracts from 27 volumes of the decisions of the *Majus Consilium*, with Greek summaries of every document and notes at the end of each section. Both parts of the book are illustrated with plates, four in all, each containing a facsimile of the original Greek or Latin document, and are provided with copious indexes.

W. M.

*La Rébellion des Popolari: la première révolution sociale en Grèce.* By MARIETTA MINOTTO. Pp. 50. Athens: 'Messenger d'Athènes,' 1933. 30 δρs.

This monograph, also published in Greek, is based upon the rare contemporary chronicle of Soumakis, three Venetian documents preserved in the archives at Zante, and an anecdote narrated by Scrofani. The author, a Zantiote, is known for her studies of Zantiote folk-lore and history, of which the rebellion of 1628 is one of the most curious episodes. As usual, the cause and the occasion of this popular outbreak were different. The cause was the overbearing attitude of the Greek nobles, who had adopted the creed and the language of their Venetian rulers and of whose violence examples are given; the occasion was the introduction of compulsory military service in consequence of the pirates' raids, but the rebellion was not against Venice but against the local nobility. One Venetian governor was bribed by the *Popolari*; they and the nobles both appealed to Venice, who sent Pisani to settle the dispute. At first favourable to the *Popolari*, he suddenly changed his policy, imprisoned their five chiefs, and, on their escape and the continuance of the rebellion, exiled the ringleaders, levelled their houses with



the ground, rooted up their olive trees, and forbade the re-cultivation of their fields. He 'made a wilderness and called it peace.' Further revolts in 1640 and 1642 were the result, and when the French became masters of the Ionian Islands in 1797, the populace burnt the Zantiote *Libro d'Oro*. Even under the British Protectorate the Zantiote Radicals, whose leader, Lambrados, was its chief opponent, were the lineal descendants of the *Popolari* of 1628. The monograph is a good example of the tendency to write local histories of the very different parts of Venetian Greece, of which Zante was among the most interesting, for each of the Seven Islands has special characteristics.

W. M.

- (1) **The Expedition of Colonel Fabvier to Chios**, described in contemporary diplomatic reports. Edited with an Introduction by PHILIP P. ARGENTI. Pp. lxii + 383; 3 plates and a map. London: John Lane, 1933. 12s. 6d.
- (2) **Chios Liberata; or the Occupation of Chios by the Greeks in 1912** as described in contemporary documents; and **Chios during the Great War**. Edited with an Introduction by PHILIP P. ARGENTI. Pp. lxviii + 59; 1 plate and a map. London: John Lane, 1933. 12s. 6d.

Mr. Argenti's interesting book on *The Massacres of Chios in 1822* was reviewed in Vol. LII, p. 334 of this *Journal*. He has swiftly followed up his account of this episode by the present volumes, which deal with two other important events in the history of modern Chios. Though the second event is of far greater importance to the island in its permanent effects, the first presents features of greater interest to the non-Greek reader owing to the international situation of the time.

The abortive expedition of Colonel Fabvier was the outcome of circumstances of considerable complexity. The Treaty of London signed on July 6th, 1827, provided for the enforcement of an armistice on both the Turks and the Greeks. The battle of Navarino followed on October 20th and further complicated the situation. The Greeks were now convinced that the Allies were on their side, and that, despite their acceptance of the armistice, they would not be hampered in prosecuting extended hostilities against the Turks.

The campaign against Chios had been planned before the acceptance of the armistice and before the battle of Navarino. It was conceived by Chians and the expenditure was to be borne

by Chians. It was held, and no doubt rightly, that Chios had no chance of being included in an autonomous Greece unless she could present the Allies with a *fait accompli*.

Mr. Argenti has collected all the diplomatic documents bearing on the episode with unwearying diligence. They comprise those of Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, Naples, the Netherlands and Spain, as well as Greek documents and letters of Count Capodistria. Short biographies of Fabvier and the members of the Chian Demogerontia are added. The foreign diplomats concur in condemning the expedition as ill-conceived and unlikely to meet with success; they are also peculiarly bitter on the subject of piracy. The Austrian documents, as might be expected, have a special bitterness of their own. It is clear that, though the expedition was planned by a Chian Commission in Syra which collected the funds, and supervised in Chios by a Demogerontia of five Chians, the Provisional Greek Government took responsibility for it. Capodistria himself later could not repudiate the responsibility inherited from the previous Government, though he was very lukewarm in giving support. It may be added that General Church in his review of the situation at the end of 1827 mentions as an encouraging feature that 'a considerable force in troops under the orders of Colonel Fabvier, accompanied by a competent naval co-operation, had landed in Scio for the purpose of recovering that beautiful island.' He at any rate did not regard the expedition as foredoomed to failure.

Mr. Argenti, in his interesting and well-written introduction, sums up the principal causes of its lack of success. The military details given in the book are very full—in particular, attention may be drawn to the diary of the Vice-Consul of the Netherlands which covers the whole period of the operations—but they cannot be entered upon here. Colonel Fabvier was a man of undoubted courage, but he had a contempt for Greek irregulars, large numbers of whom served in the expedition. These irregulars were in the main responsible for unfortunate incidents, such as the assaults on foreign consulates and the pillaging of the Greek inhabitants. Pay was often in arrear, though the charges of embezzlement subsequently brought against the members of the Demogerontia were without foundation. But in the long run the expedition was bound to fail, unless the Turkish forces assembled at Tchesmé could be kept from crossing, and events proved that the Greek navy by itself was unable to prevent them. The Allied



admirals held aloof, though it is probable that their influence restrained the Turks from committing a second massacre, and French ships were certainly active in removing fugitive Greeks to safety. Mr. Argenti is inclined to think that a secret understanding with De Rigny had something to do with Fabvier's abandonment of the siege, and that the French were not sorry to see the expedition fail. We might, however, credit De Rigny with a genuine reluctance to give active support to the Greeks for the reason he himself alleges, viz. the fear of possible Turkish vengeance on the Christians of Asia Minor. Divided control also had a good deal to do with the failure; Fabvier and the Demogerontia were often at variance, and the bestowal of supreme control on the Colonel by Capodistria came too late to prevent the retreat.

A mere allusion to the subsequent recriminations between Fabvier and the members of the Demogerontia must suffice. The inquiry resulted in a virtual acquittal of both parties—probably the fairest result, for, despite many mistakes and their unfortunate consequences to the island, there is no reason to question the good faith of either side.

A short notice cannot do full justice to the varied information contained in this excellent book, the usefulness of which is enhanced by an adequate index.

*Chios Libérée* tells the story of the recovery of Chios as the outcome of the successful war of the Balkan States against Turkey in 1912. The expedition against the island was commanded by Colonel Nicholas Delagratmatikas and seized the town of Chios on November 12th. The Turks held out for some time in the rugged central districts, and their surrender was delayed till December 21st. The Greek success was, as Mr. Argenti points out, mainly due to their predominance at sea. Thus Chios was at last freed after a Turkish domination of 346 years.

The second part of the book deals with the rôle played by Chians in the Venezelist army during the Great War and in the unfortunate campaign in Asia Minor in 1922. Exactly a century after the massacres the island was again the scene of much trouble, due to the influx of refugees. The revolution of September 1922, which led to the second dethronement of Constantine and the ultimate establishment of a Republic, was largely planned in Chios.

All the events described by Mr. Argenti in his introduction are illustrated by an abundance of official documents.

F. H. M.

#### Greek Bilingualism and some Parallel Cases.

By PETER VLASTO. Pp. 86. Athens: Hestia, 1933; 2s.

This book contains the substance of two lectures delivered in London in 1932. It is a defence and eulogy of the modern written demotic, a form of the language in which the author has shewn himself no mean poet. His heroes are therefore Psycharis and Pallas; his villains Koraes and in general those who write in the *katharevousa*. Indeed every use of a written language in any degree archaising or artificial is to Vlasto anathema: good literature is only possible in an actually spoken form of language. Throughout he assumes that the modern Greek demotic is such a natural language; many would agree with the present reviewer that it is as artificial as any *katharevousa*.

This thesis the author proceeds to illustrate from Greece itself and from other countries. Such of the ancient writers as he allows to have merit he insists wrote in the common speech of the day. Thus Alcman, Sappho and Alcaeus are among the saved; and even Pindar, who wrote, we are told, in genuine Boeotian. Plato too, Vlasto holds, wrote in the spoken language of the day. But of the rest a good many reputations must fall. Bacchylides was a dull imitator; Theognis has not an atom of real poetry; the tragic choruses with their artificial dialect are overrated lyrics; and so on. And the same account is given of the use of artificial language in other literatures: we hear of the degradation of Elizabethan English into the language of Pope and Addison. Vlasto has a case: artificiality and an excessive archaism do tend to cut a language off from the warmth and vigour of the mother tongue, and in so far as it has checked the excesses and the bigoted exclusiveness of certain *katharevousa* extremists, the movement in Greece for the demotic language has been salutary, but in this book the author has exaggerated his position to the point of absurdity. Nor can such critical opinions as those just quoted be regarded as merely a rhetorical necessity of his argument. Wishing to accredit Pallas' translation of Homer into the language and as far as possible into the style of the kleptic poems, he is capable of quoting two passages on death, one from Homer and the other from a kleptic song, and finding a similar spirit in the firm manliness of Homer and in the sentimental fancy of the modern ballad-monger.

It is not surprising that the book ends with an attack on the poets who use a language mixed of old and new; who have the skill to



employ in its proper place every note in the wide gamut of Greek. Of Kalvos he says nothing, but to him Kavafis, whom many critics regard as the great poet of modern Greece, appears as the embodiment of the 'new race of undisciplined hybrids arising out of the clash of the orthodox followers of Psycharis and of the puristic fossils,' and is summed up as the 'Alexandrian poet of protestism.'

After disagreeing so thoroughly with the author, it is pleasant to say that on the last page of his notes there is some excellent sense on the vexed question of education. R. M. D.

'Ανδριακὸν Γλωσσάριον. By DEMETRIOS P. PASCHALIS. Pp. 122. Athens: Hestia, 1933. 30 dr.

Τοπωνυμικὸν τῆς Νήσου Ἀνδρου. By DEMETRIOS P. PASCHALIS. Pp. 82. Athens: Hestia, 1933. 50 dr.

The author of these two very useful works has displayed an extraordinary activity in promoting the study of the history of Andros. Of 132 monographs from his pen, a very large proportion deal with this island. The present works are not merely valuable works of reference, but they shew how much interesting historical information can be gained from a systematic study of local words and place-names.

Andros was, if we disregard the period when she belonged to the Roman Empire, under foreign government from 1207 to 1821, first under the Venetians and then under the Turks, but it is noteworthy that the traces left by these foreign elements, both in respect of the spoken language and the place-names, are comparatively slight, so powerful has been the resistance of the native Greek to outside influences. The conquerors found themselves compelled to make use of the indigenous language.

It is interesting to find that Albanian is still spoken in certain districts of Andros. Naturally it tends to die out, and the Albanian-speaking inhabitants also speak Greek. Parallels to this are of course to be found in other parts of Greece, e.g. in the neighbourhood of Athens. In this connexion we may note the existence in the island of Albanian place-names, such as Liopesi, Kiapha and Souli. The author recalls the fact that the monk Samuel, so famous in the last struggles of the Souliotes was a native of Andros. It may be remarked that several of the Turco-Albanian words (e.g. *υπομνήτης*—faithless) found in Hadji Sechreli's poems on Ali Pasha appear in Mr. Paschalis' glossary.

Attention may be called to the following

amongst the special Andriote forms noted by the author: γαίμα (σίμα), γλίπω (βλίπω), σούγλα (σούβλα), ἀλάσι (ἀλάτι), φεάρ (θηκάριον), ηκαία (ηκαία), δαλάρα (ἀγιδάρα), χρέγη (χρήη), ἀρφατός (ἀρφατός). There is in general a tendency to shorten words and phrases, e.g. *ἐὰν πᾶ' μὲ' στὸ βυό* (ἐὰν ὑπάγω, λίγω, πτό βουνό)—*καλλὲ μὰ* (καλὴ εὐάννα), *Περρόγιατος* (Γιάτης Πέρος). *Ταπεινωτός* (due to Italian influence) is a prominent feature, e.g. *ἱταίνος* for *ἡλιος*, *ἀνάτη* for *ἀνάκη*. Various parts of the island have their own local peculiarities.

The place-names are very instructive for the history of Andros. The names derived from geographical features and those of Saints are, of course, usual in Greece. But besides these we find in the island names which are reminiscent of Ancient Greece, such as *Ἀπατούρια*, *Ἀρταίδη*, *Ἀρροβίσι*. Others recall the Venetian occupation, e.g. *Μπεντινέον*, *Λαζαρέτο*; others the Catalans, e.g. *Καταλάνον*, in which connexion it may be remarked that the word *καταλάνος* has come to be synonymous with a rascal. The presence of Jews is indicated by such a name as *Ὁβρηόκοστρο*, while we are reminded of Saracen marauders by *Κορσάρι* and *Σαρατσά*. *Τούρκο* and *Τούρκου κλέβας* are a legacy from the Turkish occupation. Folk-tales are suggested by a name like *Γρηὺς Πήδημα*, the feudal system by the term *φλούδα* still applied to large estates and by the names taken from the proprietors, e.g. *Μαρκιτάντολα*. The Albanian place-names, which are fairly common, have already been alluded to.

Both these works may be warmly commended. They are characteristic of the enthusiasm with which local studies are pursued in Greece.

F. H. M.

Ὁ ποιητὴς Κ. Π. Καβάφης (ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὸ ἔργοι του). Μελέτη, By T. MALANOS. Pp. 182. Athens: Ἐκδόσεις Γκοβόστη, 1933.

This book is a careful though very unsympathetic study of the poetry and character of C. P. Cavafy, a modern Greek poet of great originality, who died in April, 1933, in Alexandria, where he had spent the greater part of his life. Mr. Malanos was in personal contact with Cavafy for some fifteen years, and should therefore be in a position to carry out his intention of showing us, first the man as he saw him, and then the same man as he appears in his writings. Great stress is laid throughout upon Cavafy's psychology and its emergence in his poems. His character, as Mr. Malanos saw it, was very unpleasing; he found him self-centred, shy, secretive and jealous, always wearing a mask



and playing a part, with never anything in his mind but his own self-interest. How far it was fitting to write such a study when the poet was suffering greatly in his last illness is perhaps hardly the business of the reviewer to discuss, but it would be unfair to pass over the fact that I have talked to not a few of Cavafy's acquaintances, and have never found anyone who had not the warmest remembrances of his personal charm: none of them saw any trace of the detestable poseur described by Mr. Malanos. The glimpses we are given of Cavafy's conversation are interesting, but it is impossible to escape from the feeling that the poet was sometimes laughing at his companion, and that dicta, here written down seriously, as, for example, that poetry like other commodities must be advertised in order to be sold, were delivered in jest. Cavafy was well gifted with the satiric wit of his countrymen.

But the most serious thing to be said of Mr. Malanos' painstaking essay is that he is so much out of sympathy with Cavafy's work and style that he is quite incapable of feeling, and certainly of making his readers feel, the extraordinary charm and emotional power of many of the poems. What another critic might well recognise as classical elegance and absence of sentimentality and conventional poetic phrasing is to Mr. Malanos simply a dry and prosaic manner of writing. The comparison of Cavafy's work to entries in Suidas or to the dry paragraphs of Diogenes Laertius shows a really unusual incapacity to see the difference between poetry and prose. But these matters may safely be left to the judgment of readers. Here, however, a difficulty arises. Up to about the year 1900 Cavafy published his poems one by one in periodicals. Then he entirely rejected all this earlier work and formed his own characteristic style of writing. He also changed his methods of publication and began printing his poems each separately on fly-sheets, which he did not sell, but circulated among his friends. Of these sheets three *fasciculi* have been collected, covering the years 1905 to 1933, but none of them was ever put on sale. The *corpus* of his work, consisting of only 144 poems, all of them short, is therefore not easy to come by; it is hoped that shortly a volume with translations will be published in the ordinary way. The poems are written in a kind of free verse, each with a most careful internal structure. They deal in preference with the life of Hellenistic or Byzantine Greece and with the life of modern Alexandria. As Mr. Malanos has well pointed out, Cavafy's affinities are with Kallimachus and

the Alexandrian mimes. But the critic's remarks on individual poems are as grudging of praise as is his account of the poet's personality. Everywhere he finds Cavafy more of a craftsman (*τεχνίτης*) than a poet. It will be well to take an example. Petronius has a short poem, the *Exhortatio ad Ulyssem*, in which the king of Ithaca is bidden journey over all the world and so become a still greater man. On this hint Cavafy has built a poem describing the adventurous life of a man striving to reach an ideal Ithaca, and the disappointment which attends all human achievements; but the toilsome journey itself is the real reward of man's struggles and aspirations. The poem ends thus:

Ἡ ἰθάκη σ' ἔδωκε τ' ὄρατο ταξίδι.  
Χωρὶς αὐτῆς δὲν ἔβγαίνεις πτόν ἔρως.  
Ἀλλὰ δὲν ἔχει τὰ σέ βώσῃ πιά.

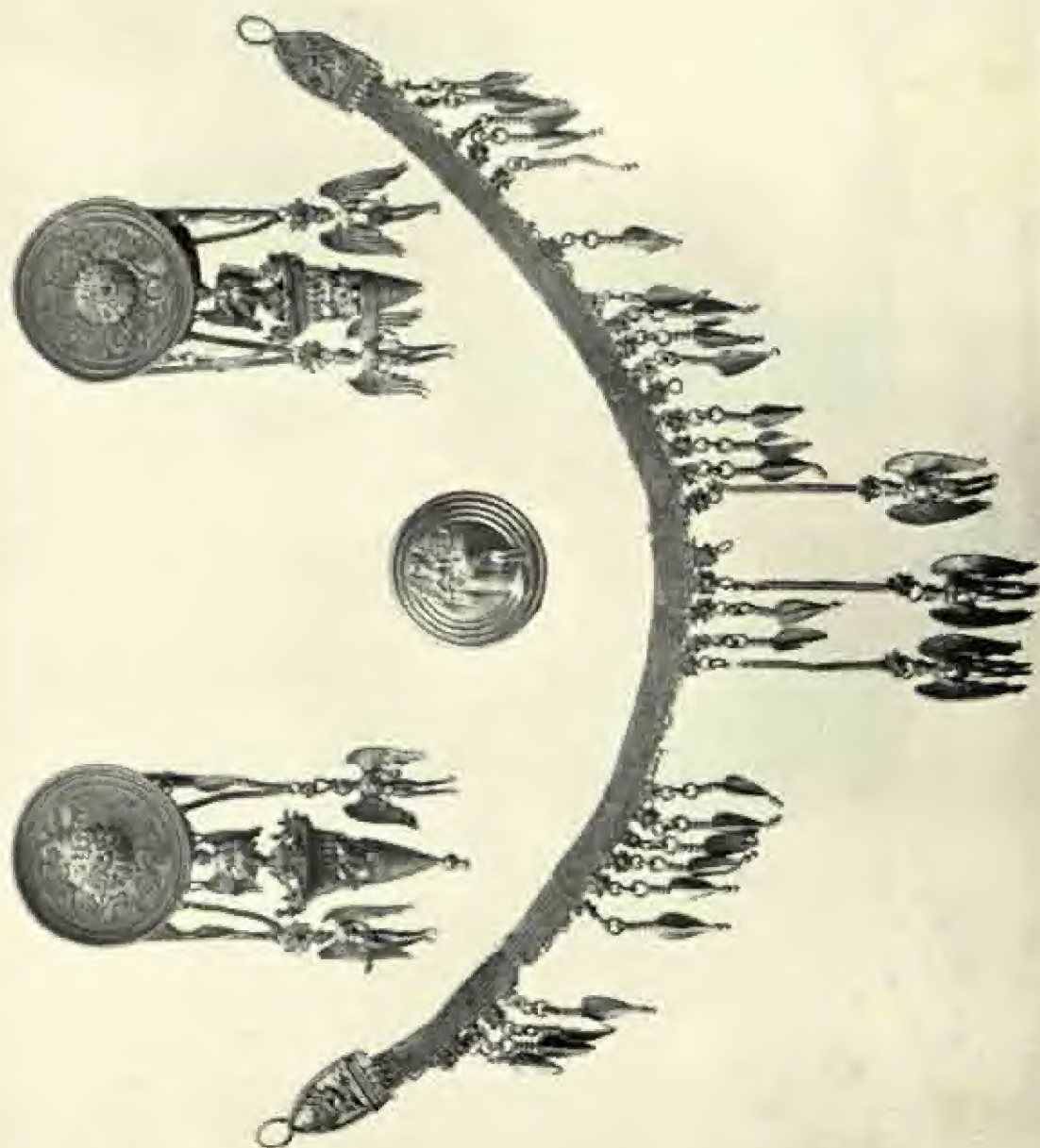
Κι ἂν πτωχὴς τὴν βροίε, ἡ ἰθάκη δὲν σέ γέλασι.  
Ἔτσι σοφὸς ποῦ θύγεις, μὲ πόση πείρα,  
ἦδη δὲ τὸ καταλαβὲς ἡ ἰθάκη τί σημαίνει.

Mr. Malanos does not entirely withhold commendation, but ends by saying that after all Cavafy here shows himself only as a poet who has worked over the poem of another man: δὲν παύει νὰ αἰετὶ ὁ μεταποιητὴς τὴν ἐξου ποιήματος. Mr. Malanos, the reviewer feels, shows here and in many other places that he hardly knows what it is that makes a poem: it is a matter for astonishment that with such a poor equipment of poetic sensibility he ever set out to write this book at all. With Cavafy's poetry he is certainly entirely out of sympathy.

Nor does Mr. Malanos, who himself writes in the modern demotic, much like Cavafy's Greek, which is the language of the written tradition tempered with the ordinary colloquial speech of the day. This way of writing has already got Cavafy into trouble with other demotic writers, especially with Mr. Peter Vlasto, who has developed his views in an article, 'Ὁ Καβάφης ὁ Ἑρμῆς', published in the Athenian *Journal* 'Ἰδέα', and in his book on Greek Bilingualism, already reviewed in this *Journal*. Though this is a quarrel perhaps more especially for Greeks, it is to be remarked that while Vlasto attacks Cavafy for using an artificial language, τὸ λογιωδὲς, he says, εἶναι ἀόριστο, ἀχρῆστο, ἀποξενωτικὸν πρὸς τὸν λαόν, etc., Mr. Malanos recognises that he wrote exactly as he spoke, and Cavafy was admittedly a master in the art of conversation. Much more will probably be written about Cavafy: here we have the speech of the *advocatus diaboli*, carefully and systematically set forth.

R. M. DAWKINS.





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## THE BRITISH ACADEMY

### CROMER GREEK PRIZE

WITH the view of maintaining and encouraging the study of Greek, particularly among the young, in the national interest, the late Lord Cromer founded a Prize, to be administered by the British Academy, for the best Essay on any subject connected with the language, history, art, literature, or philosophy of Ancient Greece.

The Prize, which is ordinarily a sum of £40, is awarded annually in March, under the following Rules:—

1. Competition is open to all British subjects of either sex who will be under twenty-six years of age on 31 December preceding the award.
2. Any such persons desirous of competing must send in to the Secretary of the British Academy on or before 1 June of the year preceding the award the title of the subject proposed by him or her. The Academy may approve (with or without modification) or disapprove the subject; their decision will be intimated to the competitor as soon as possible.
3. Preference will be given, in approval of subjects proposed, to those which deal with aspects of the Greek genius and civilization of large and permanent significance over those which are of a minute or highly technical character.
4. Any Essay already published, or which has already received or is in competition for another prize of the same nature, will be inadmissible. A candidate to whom the Prize has been awarded will not be eligible to compete for it again. But an Essay which has not received the Prize may be submitted again (with or without alteration) in a future year so long as the writer remains eligible under Rule 1.
5. Essays of which the subject has been approved must be sent in to the Secretary of the Academy on or before 31 December. They must be typed (or, if the author prefers, printed), and should have a note attached stating the main sources of information used.
6. It is recommended that the Essays should not exceed 20,000 words, exclusive of notes. Notes should not run to an excessive length.

Communications should be addressed to 'The Secretary of the British Academy, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W.'





## The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

50, BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.C. 1

*President:* HUGH LAST, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.

THE subjects to promote the study of which the Society was formed are the history, archaeology and art of Rome, Italy and the Roman Empire in general down to about 700 A.D. In particular, so far as its resources permit, and so far as is possible without prejudice to the wider objects with which it is concerned, the Society endeavours to encourage the study of Britain under Roman occupation by devoting space in its Journal to articles on Romano-British history and archaeology.

In connexion with the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies the Society maintains a joint library of works on classical antiquity, and a collection of lantern-slides and photographs. Members are entitled to borrow books and slides, and these can be sent to them by post. Communications about books and slides should be addressed to the Librarian at 50 Bedford Square.

Afternoon meetings for the reading and discussion of papers are held at Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.1, and one evening meeting is arranged for the discussion of a subject useful to teachers of Roman history. Notices of these are sent to all members.

The *Journal of Roman Studies*, which is open to the contributions of both British and foreign scholars, is published by the Society in half-yearly parts, and is sent post free to all members.

The Annual Subscription for membership of the Society is one guinea. The composition fee for life membership is ten guineas for persons over fifty years of age, and fifteen guineas for others. Student Associates are admitted at the reduced subscription of 10s. 6d.

Persons desirous of joining the Society are asked to communicate with the Secretary at the Haverfield Library, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

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## PELASGIANS AND IONIANS<sup>1</sup>

### I. THE PELASGIANS.

(i) ANY attempt to track down this ubiquitous but evasive people must start from the vestiges of Pelasgians in the Homeric epics, which will here be treated as a single authority on the assumption that, whatever may be the secret of their composition, they preserve a consistent record of authentic traditions of the Heroic Age.

The Trojan Catalogue (*Il.* ii. 811 *seqq.*), having put the Trojans of Ilium of course at the head of its list, recites the contingents from their kinsfolk and nearest neighbours. To most of them it assigns a seat—to the Trojans led by Pandarus Zelca and the valley of the Aesepus; to the men under the sons of Merops the coast of the Propontis west of the Aesepus with the Adrastean plain and doubtless the valley of the Granicus; to the followers of Asius the Hellespontine shore down to the Narrows below Abydus and including Sestus on the opposite side of the straits. But the Dardanians, next after the Ilians on the list, are left without a home. Dardanus on the Hellespont south of Abydus is impossible; it has far too exiguous an *ager*, is never mentioned in the Homeric poems, and is incompatible with the indications to be found in them. We must seek Dardania elsewhere.

There can be little doubt that the whole basin of the Scamander belonged to Ilium; the articulations between its three plains are connective rather than disjunctive; it constitutes a single natural unit; it is commensurate with the other cantons; and it could not support two tribal communities equal, not to say superior, to the rest in size, rank and importance. On the north-west and west, roughly from Dardanus to Alexandria, this territory is bounded by the sea; its eastern and northern borders are enveloped by the confederate domains already determined; but what of its southern side? Here a long wedge of country unbroken by serious obstacles stretches from the west coast eastwards between the main range of Ida and the sea to the head of the gulf of Adramyttium. About its inhabitants we gather from Homer that at Thebe, in the plain which lies beyond the gulf and may or may not be included in the strip, Eteon ruled over Cilices (*Il.* vi. 396, 415), and that at Pedasus on the

<sup>1</sup> Of modern discussions of the subject I have found most useful H. Fynes Clinton's chapter 'The early Times of Greece' in his *Fasti Hellenici*, Vol. I; Ed. Meyer's essays 'Die Pelasger' and 'Die Herkunft der Ionier und die Ionage' in his *Forschungen*, I; U. v. Wilamowitz's articles 'Panionion' and 'Über die ionische Wanderung' in *SBHert.*, 1906; J. L. Myres' paper 'A History of the Pelasgian

Theory' in *JHS.* xxvii; P. Kretschmer's article 'Zur Geschichte der griechischen Dialekte' in *Glotta*, I, 1, and his *Einführung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*; K. J. Beloch's appendix V, 'Die Pelasger,' in his *Gr. Gesch.*, II, 2; W. Leaf's *Troy and Strabo on the Troad*; F. Bilsbel's *Die ionische Kolonisation*, and C. D. Buck's paper 'The Language of Greece 2000–1000 B.C.' in *CPh.* XXI (1926).



river Satniois, Altes ruled over Leleges (xxi. 86). At Lyrnessus, possibly the later Antandrus (cf. Alcaeus, Strabo, 606), Mynes (ii. 590-693, xix. 296) ruled probably over Leleges (xx. 90-96). Nothing more is recorded of the Cilices. The Leleges appear among Priam's auxiliaries in *Il.* x. 429, but not in the Catalogue. They cannot be reckoned to the Trojan Commonwealth of peoples. Yet this southern district of the Troad is obviously included by Achilles in Priam's dominions (xxiv. 544-546). The Leleges therefore, unless mere immigrants from abroad settled in one or two isolated colonies, are presumably a subject or vassal population. In whom then are we to recognise the real lords of the land?

Two claimants present themselves. First the Pelasgians, who stand sixth in the Catalogue, next after the contingents already noted. Their case depends mainly on the answer to be given to the question whether the city Larisa assigned to them by the Catalogue was the Larisa in the south-west of the Troad, on or near the coast between Alexandria and Hamaxitus. Alone the coincidence of name is a poor criterion, for Larisae are broadcast all over the countries round the Aegean; Strabo (440) collects eleven, which Fynes Clinton augments from other writers to seventeen. The identification has therefore been supported by the resourceful suggestion that the Leleges and Cilices of the southern coastland are themselves, or are included in, the 'tribes of Pelasgians' of the Catalogue. This bold theory, sufficiently improbable for other reasons, is ruled out by *Il.* x. 429, which expressly distinguishes the Leleges from the Pelasgians. Nor does the Pelasgian name confer on the Leleges and Cilices any better right in the inner circle of the Trojan kindred. On the main question Strabo (620) has the last word; the only other passage in Homer which mentions the city (*Il.* xvii. 288-303) tells how Hippothous, the same as the Pelasgian leader in the Catalogue, was killed in the fight for the body of Patroclus 'far from Larisa' his home; according to Strabo the Larisa near Hamaxitus is actually within sight of Ilium and only about 200 stades from it; therefore that Larisa cannot be intended. He may be guilty of some slight overstatement, but Strabo's argument is conclusive. The Pelasgians must go farther afield.

The Dardanians are, of course, the other candidate, and their claim is a strong one. They have indubitable rights in the Troad, but nowhere else than in the southern belt can an adequate territory be found for them. Demetrius of Scepsis, to be sure, endeavoured to provide an abode for them, so far as can be made out from the confused indications of Strabo (565, 592, 596, 602, 606, 607), in the narrow valley of the upper Scamander above his native town and on the barren pine-clad hills to the north of it; but there can be little doubt that this shabby hospitality was prompted by the local patriotism of the Scepsians and had no better historical foundation than their ambition to appropriate the honours and primacy of the Dardanidae. On the other hand, Strabo's observation that the Lelegian district is 'as it were a second Dardania,' and the geographical inconsistencies into which it seems to involve him (606, 607), suggest that some authorities placed the Dardanians there, and that he fell into incoherence in the attempt to combine them with Demetrius. The



Catalogue at all events, which progresses continuously from canton to canton round the inland borders of the Ilian domain and completes the circuit at the western or seaward extremity of the north side, must obviously have started from the western or seaward extremity of the south side; that is to say, that the Dardanians, being first on the list after the Ilians, were their southern neighbours, and fill the vacancy between the western sea and the watershed of the Aesepus on the east. This allocation agrees with the other Homeric evidence. In the days of Dardanus the Ilians and the Dardanians dwelt together as one people in the ὑπώρεια of Ida (*Il.* xx. 218), on the slopes below the northern and southern faces of the main range (compare the ὑπώρεια, northern and southern, of the Taurus in Strabo 570); on the division of the kingdom presumably the spine of the ridge which runs down from the summits to the west coast became the boundary between them, and the Ilians kept the northern ὑπώρεια, the Dardanians the southern. Aphrodite gave birth to Aeneas, as the Catalogue states (ii. 820), amid the spurs of Ida. Aeneas chased by Achilles down the hills of Ida (xx. 90-96, 188-194) took refuge in Lyrnessus, the city of Mynes. The nationality of Mynes and Altes and Eetion is not given; they may have ruled over alien subjects, Leleges and Cilices, like Phoenix over the Dolopes in the kingdom of Peleus (ix. 484, cf. 395-397), but have been themselves Trojans of Dardania, and the mention of Troes as well as Leleges in the sack of Lyrnessus may perhaps be interpreted in that sense.

If the Dardanians are established in the southern territory, the Pelasgians are doubly debarred from it. The Catalogue has completed the ambit of confederate cantons which bordered the Ilian realm, and there is no room in the Troad for another. Its next entry, the Pelasgians, must begin the second section of the list; having finished on the Hellespont it crosses the straits and gives Priam's European allies in succession from east to west.

First come the Pelasgians, from their capital city, Larisa (841); second the Thracians, in the Chersonese (845), but more at home in the valley of the Hebrus (iv. 520); then the Cicones, Thracian by race (Herodotus vii. 110), dwelling about Ismarus (*Od.* ix. 39); and last in this series the Paconians, on the river Axius (849, cf. xxi. 141-159). It is clear from the order of the names that the Catalogue assigns to the Pelasgians a domain between the Hebrus and the Euxine.

There remains the minor problem of Larisa. Strabo (620), we have seen, rightly rejected the Larisa in Troas as incompatible with Homer's τῆλε, but, misled by *Il.* x. 428-429, where no geographical inference is admissible, and seeking to extend Priam's dominions southward over the whole of Acolis, he decided for Larisa Phriconis near Cyme. Had his attention been directed to the north, he might have remembered that he had mentioned (440, cf. 319) another Larisa which fits the indications in Homer much better. It lay in the region known as 'the left shore' of the Euxine and near the end of the Haemus range just north of Mesembria. The Catalogue uses the words τῆλεθεν and τῆλε of the extremities only of Priam's alliance—Amydon by the Axius, Alybe of the Halizones,



Ascania (which is evidently meant to be the terminus of a different line), and Lycia. If this usage applies to the  $\tau\eta\lambda'$  ἀπὸ Λαρίσης of *Il.* x. 301, the description is thoroughly appropriate to the Mesembrian Larisa, which supplies an extreme point northward analogous to the others. At all events this Larisa proves that a Larisa is not improbable in the region above assigned to the Pelasgians of the Catalogue.

(ii) Except an allusion in the *Odyssey* (xix. 177) to Pelasgians in Crete, where they are no doubt, as Strabo recognised (221), immigrants, no other passage in Homer expressly determines their local habitation; but references to 'Pelasgic Argos' in what was two generations after the Trojan war Thessaly (*Il.* ii. 681) and to Zeus of Dodona as 'Pelasgic' (xvi. 233) must on the generally accepted and only natural interpretation imply that those places, no longer held by Pelasgians, had formerly been in their occupation.

As regards Dodona this inference is supported by Hesiod's description (Strabo, 327) of Dodona as 'a seat of Pelasgians,' and by the story told to Herodotus (ii. 52) by the priestesses at Dodona of the Pelasgians who consulted the oracle there. Hesiod and the priestesses either are independent witnesses to the tradition implied in Homer, or prove that the orthodox interpretation of Homer's words was current as early as Hesiod's time and was accepted in the fifth century B.C. by the Dodonaean themselves.

The verse in the Greek Catalogue about the inhabitants of Pelasgic Argos, unless we are to follow Zenodotus against the authority of the manuscripts, can only be understood as a general heading to the list of the 'Thessalian' contingents; Pelasgic Argos must be a comprehensive name for Thessaly, as Strabo takes it (221, 369; although he quotes other opinions, 431). The connexion between Thessaly and the Pelasgians does not depend entirely upon Homer. The two Larisae in Thessaly may carry little conviction, but the name of the 'tetrarchy' Pelasgiotis cannot be ascribed to no more than an antiquary's fancy. The syncretic constructions of Hellanicus and Ephorus may be poor evidence, but Herodotus (vii. 95) has no hesitation in deriving the Aeolians from the Pelasgic stock and avers (i. 57) that the Pelasgians who dwelt in his own day at Creston, north of Chalcidice, had formerly lived in Thessaliotis. It is difficult to believe that there is nothing behind the many associations, which no theory could ignore, between the Pelasgians and Thessaly, except one phrase in the Greek Catalogue and the name Larisa; at the least the ancients were fairly unanimous in interpreting Pelasgic Argos as a land once held by Pelasgians.

The testimony of Herodotus that Pelasgians existed at Creston in the fifth century B.C. is independent of any inference or theory, but is a statement of fact. It is in the main confirmed by Thucydides (iv. 109), who is peculiarly well informed on the tribes of that region and is a critic swift to mark errors in Herodotus. The differences in detail between their accounts enhance their agreement in recognising a Pelasgian population in the neighbourhood of Chalcidice. So we have here another patch of Pelasgians west of the Strymon to put beside those at Dodona and in Thessaly.



Moreover, there can be little doubt that the name Πελασγοί represents Πελαγ-σκοί; and Πελαγ-σκοί cannot be separated from Πελαγ-όνες, a strong tribe domiciled by the river Erigon between the Axius and the lake of Lychnidus (Strabo, 327; Livy, xlv. 29). With the Pelagonians may probably be added the Paeonians, who were not Thracians (Hom. *Il.* ii. 844-850, x. 427-434; Hdt. v. 1-14, vii. 185, viii. 115, ix. 32; Thuc. ii. 96), but seem to have been akin to the Pelagonians (Hom. *Il.* xxi. 140-160; Strabo, 331, frag. 38, 39; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iv. 10. 35), although the Catalogue and Aeschylus (*Suppl.* 257) treat them as distinct from the Pelasgians, presumably because the connexion was not political but racial.

Even without this Paeonian enlargement the fragments of Pelasgian occupation in the west, if we may piece them together, practically reconstitute the northern realm, extending from the Strymon to Dodona and the Adriatic, attributed by Aeschylus (*Suppl.* 254-259) to Pelasgus, King of Apia and Argos.

(iii) This Pelasgian domain in the north is certified by Homeric tradition and survivals in historical times, but in the minds of the Greeks of the fifth century B.C., and earlier, it was balanced, or rather over-weighted, by the idea of a pre-Hellenic population of Pelasgians in Arcadia and Argolis, an idea supported by no such evidence. Hesiod is said (Strabo, 221) to have started it, making Pelasgus father of Lycaon. The affiliation, as Eduard Meyer has well argued (*Forsch.* I, pp. 53-66), was not a tradition but an inference. The Arcadians claimed to be the aboriginal and indigenous inhabitants of their land (*IG.* V. 2; Hdt. viii. 73). Pelasgus, whom 'black earth produced that there might be a human race,' as the epic poet Asius told (Paus. viii. 1), was to Hesiod also (Apollod. ii. 1.1.7, iii. 8.1) 'autochthon' a First Man. There were, to be sure, plenty of *autochthonous* patriarchs and peoples in Greece, but apparently Hesiod deemed the Pelasgians to be the earliest people, and their *eponymus* the first of all mankind. Meyer (pp. 32, 113) would trace this opinion to Thessaly, where Pelasgian serfs of the later conquerors may have perpetuated a memory of their lost independence. Possibly Hesiod learnt it from his Boeotian neighbours or from his Cymaeon parents, but the quotation from Asius, which its context in Pausanias shews to refer to the Arcadians, is so pertinent to the argument that it strongly suggests that he drew it from epic, and probably Ionian, sources.

When the Homeric 'Pelasgic Argos' was mistranslated to the Peloponnesian Argos, as prevalently in Attic Tragedy (e.g. Aesch. *Suppl.* 250 sqq., *Prom.* 860 sqq.; Soph. *Inach.* frag. 256; Eur. *Phoen.* 256, *Orest.* 1601), the sovereignty of Pelasgus was extended over Argolis, and he was inserted into the pedigree of the Argive kings by or before Acusilaus (Apollod. *l.c.*, Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 177).

Herodotus accepted the theory of an aboriginal population of Pelasgians in Arcadia (i. 146, ii. 171, viii. 73) and in Argolis (ii. 171; cf. vii. 94); but he goes far beyond it when he ascribes a Pelasgian ancestry to the Ionians, wherever they may dwell or be reputed to have dwelt—in the Peloponnesian Achaëa (vii. 94), in Attica (i. 56-7, viii. 44), in the Islands and Ionia (vii. 95), and presumably in Cynuria (viii. 73). With



this notable accession the primitive inhabitants of Greece have become so predominantly Pelasgic that, ignoring exceptions (*e.g.* Boeotia, where Pelasgians appear to have been first introduced by Ephorus—Strabo, 401), he can call the whole country Pelasgian in people and in name (ii. 56, viii. 44).

That others before Herodotus had used the name Pelasgia in the same comprehensive sense, which would imply the inclusion of the Ionians, is probable, if not demonstrable—Aeschylus might be quoted, but the words *τάπιδε* (*Suppl.* 259) are a conjectural emendation; and Acusilaus (*Tzetzes l.c.*) may merely amplify Apollodorus, as Meyer has observed (p. 97). Anyhow Herodotus, although our earliest evidence for the Pelasgic origin of the Ionians, cannot be thought to have discovered it for himself. He lays particular stress upon it, and seems to regard the Ionians as especially Pelasgian, but he adduces no reasons, nor authorities. We must conclude that he is giving the accepted doctrine *Ἰωνῶν τῶν λογιωτάτων*.

Whence did they get it? Not from Homer, who barely notices the Pelasgians and treats the Ionians with almost studied neglect; nor from Hesiod, who would certainly have been quoted if he had promulgated it, and in such a matter is more likely to have been the disciple than the master; nor from 'the Pelasgic wall' on the Acropolis of Athens, which presupposes it; nor from a general induction that before the spread of Hellenism all Greeks were Pelasgians, for that generalisation could never have been made without it, and may be assumed to have been propagated by the Ionians themselves rather than from Thessaly.

(iv) Herodotus (ii. 51, i. 57, vi. 137) adds a later infusion of Pelasgians into Attica when the Athenians were already being reckoned as Hellenes and could impart their Hellenism to them (*ὅθεν περ καὶ Ἕλληνες ἤρξαντο νομισθῆναι*). He gives no precise date, nor any quite unambiguous indication of their provenance. Strabo (401), following (as the context shows) Ephorus, professes to supply both; Pelasgians and Thracians, having expelled the Cadmeians from Thebes, were afterwards driven out by the Boeotians, the Thracians to Parnassus, the Pelasgians to Attica, where they gave their name to a part of the (acro)polis and settled under Hymettus (*cf.* Hdt. vi. 137); the date is defined by the Boeotian conquest and the Aeolian migration under Penthius, which are assigned to the 60th year after the fall of Troy (Thuc. i. 12; Strabo, 582). This account, however, may be disputed. It carries no conviction; it bears the stamp of an artificial product and appears to be constructed on the lines of Ephorus' theory of the spread of the Pelasgians by military expeditions from Arcadia (Strabo, 221).

But for the misguidance of Ephorus the unprejudiced reader would gather from Herodotus that these Pelasgians before they came to Attica had dwelt in the region of the Hellespont, in Samothrace and at Placia and Scylace near Cyzicus. He says (ii. 51), *τὴν γὰρ Σαμοθρηκὴν οἰκον πρότερον Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι οἱ περ Ἀθηναίοισι σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο*, and (i. 57) *τῶν Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκησάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ οἱ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι*.



There is, to be sure, room for a doubt. He tells us (vi. 137) that these Pelasgians were afterwards evicted from Attica and occupied ἄλλα τε χωρία καὶ δὴ καὶ Λῆμνον. The aorist tenses in the two passages above quoted leave it indeterminate whether their sojourn in Attica was before or after their settlement in Samothrace and Placia and Scylace, and the πρότερον could be interpreted to mean 'before the Samians, or the present inhabitants, took possession of Samothrace'; so that ἄλλα χωρία might include these places. But there is no lack of ἄλλα χωρία without these—e.g. Imbros (v. 26), ἄλλα Πελασγικά πολιῖσματα (i. 57), Scyrus (Diod. Sic. xi. 60; Steph. Byz. s.v.; Porph. *Vit. Pythag.* 10), the Acte of Athos according to Thucydides (iv. 109)—and in the context the πρότερον can hardly be understood to mean anything else than 'before they settled in Attica' (compare the ποτε put in by Thucydides to mark the contrary sense). Moreover, the record of Miltiades' annexation of Lemnos (Hdt. vi. 137-140) suggests that the Athenians, and in particular the Philaidæ, exploited their Pelasgian exiles to make a plea for appropriating Pelasgian sites which they coveted in the North Aegean (as in like wise they used their Ionian connexion to claim rights over the Ionians in the south), and so lays under suspicion the alleged acquisitions of the Pelasgians expelled from Attica. We may therefore accept the two passages of Herodotus in their natural sense, and may suspect that most, if not all, of the ἄλλα χωρία were Pelasgic independently of the Pelasgian refugees from Attica.

Homer gives no hint of Pelasgians in the neighbourhood of Cyzicus, nor in Samothrace, nor in any of the other places in question. Lemnos had a Sintian population (*Il.* i. 594; *Od.* viii. 294), and was ruled by the Minyan Euneus son of Jason (*Il.* vii. 468, xxi. 41); Imbros was under Eetion, apparently not a Pelasgian (*Il.* xxi. 43); Scyrus had been taken by Achilles (*Il.* ix. 668), and formed part of the dominions of Peleus (cf. *Il.* xix. 326; *Od.* xi. 509), who presumably planted there some of his Dolopian subjects, mentioned by Thucydides (i. 98). One may infer that the Pelasgian colonies in the North Aegean and Hellespontine region were established after the Trojan war, and consequently the Pelasgian late-comers arrived in Attica no earlier. The words of Herodotus (ii. 51), Ἀθηναίοισι ἤδη τῆνικαῦτα ἐξ Ἑλλήνας τελέουσι, confirm this conclusion, for they are deduced, I believe, from Homer's references to the Athenians in the Greek forces. The date assigned by Ephorus (above) is quite compatible.

Herodotus in the sequel to his story (iv. 145-7; cf. Paus. vii. 2) supplies a *terminus ante quem* for the expulsion of these Pelasgians from Attica. The Minyæ whom they dispossessed at Lemnos took refuge in Lacedæmon at the time when the sons of Aristodamus were growing up and Theras was about to quit Sparta, therefore not many years after the Dorians acquired Laconia. The synchronism does not strictly fit the description of the Minyæ as παίδων παῖδες of the Argonauts, but this expression cannot be pressed (cf. παῖδες and πατέρας in the same chapter). Thus the whole episode of this later Pelasgian settlement in Attica may be placed between the Trojan war and the Dorian conquest.



## II. THE IONIANS

(i) Solon (Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 5) deplores the decadence of Attica *πρεσβυτάτην ἑσπορῶν γαίαν Ἰαονίας*, but Pisistratus, the executor of his reforms, could celebrate the restoration of his country to her birthright when he 'purified' Delos under his patronage (Hdt. i. 64; Thuc. iii. 104), and thenceforth for two centuries the Athenians constantly claim that Athens is the mother-city of the Ionians (e.g. Thuc. i. 2, 12; Eur. *Ion*, 74, 1581-88; Plato, *Euthyd.* 302 c; Isocr. *Paneg.* 122; cf. Hdt. i. 146-7, ix. 106).

The Ionic character of the Athenian State is amply guaranteed by the consensus of the Greek writers from Homer downwards, by the Attic dialect, and by Athenian institutions, political, social and religious, especially the four Tribes and the Apaturia; but there are objections to the pretension that Attica was the fountain head of Ionicism.

First, Ion the *Eponymus* of the Ionians is an alien in Attica, the leader of a band of foreign auxiliaries (Hdt. viii. 44; cf. Thuc. i. 3; Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 3, 41, fragm. 1; Strabo, 383; Paus. vii. 1). He has no place in the royal house, and the people never took him to their hearts. In spite of Euripides' drama he remains a mere figure-head without a personality, and we can hardly credit him with flesh and bones enough to be buried at Potami as Pausanias (i. 31, vii. 1) would have us believe. The attempts to affiliate him to the Erechtheid dynasty betray their failure by their discrepancies and chronological inconsistencies; as Fynes Clinton long ago remarked, 'the accounts concerning Ion and his four sons are not well adjusted to the Attic history.'

Second, and worse, the Athenian people eschewed the name Ionian. Herodotus (i. 143, v. 69) concluded that they were ashamed of it, and that Cleisthenes, when he set aside the four Ionic Tribes and instituted the ten Attic Tribes, was putting a deliberate slight upon the Ionians. In fact they seldom called themselves Ionians except with some external reference or interested motive, maybe in antithesis to the Dorians or in order to assert rights over other Ionians (e.g. Thuc. i. 95, iii. 86, vi. 76, 82, vii. 57, viii. 25). The dogma that Athens was the metropolis of the Ionians was an instrument of imperial policy; it grew up when she conceived ambitions in the Aegean, and it withered, except as a reminiscence of ancient history, when she lost her empire. At home the populace repudiated an Ionian origin and claimed to be primeval and indigenous (e.g. Hdt. i. 56, vii. 161; Thuc. i. 2, ii. 36; Xen. *Mem.* iii. 5, 12; Lys. ii. 17; Plato, *Menex.* 237 B; Isocr. *Paneg.* 23-4, *Panath.* 124-5; Hyper. vi. 7; Soph. *Aj.* 202; Eur. *Erechth.* frag. 353, *Ion*, 29, 589; Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1076). *Autochthonia* was really a democratic slogan, and until it sank, after the achievement of social equality, into an idle boast, had been a protest against the dominance of an alien nobility; its importunate proclamation confesses that τὸ μὴ φυλοκρίνειν had not smothered all recollection of an Ionian conquest long ago. So it appears that neither is Ion a native Athenian nor are the native Athenians Ionians.

The third and decisive objection comes from the Ionians of Ionia



themselves. Their local traditions of the foundations of their cities (Hdt. i. 146-7; Strabo, 632 *seqq.*; Paus. vii. 2-4) almost ignore the metropolitan pretensions of Athens. Their patriarchs and their population are drawn from districts all over eastern and southern Greece or from Crete or southern Asia Minor, but Attica contributes little or nothing to the tale. In spite of a few possibly fraudulent pedigrees this traditional lore, peculiar to this or that city and jealously guarded by their narrow patriotism, deserves more credence than the interested contention of the Athenians. It served no political ends; there is no collusion about it or conspiracy to falsify history; and *prima facie* the inhabitants of a town know more than strangers about their ancestry. Clearly these Ionians and presumably the others, although they might on occasion appeal to the Athenians on the ground of kinship (Thuc. i. 95, iii. 86, vi. 76), and according to Herodotus (v. 97), Aristagoras at Athens pleads οἱα κάρτα δεόμενος that the Milesians are colonists of the Athenians, never believed in their own Attic origin.

(ii) Von Wilamowitz in a masterly article which absolves us from detailed discussion of these traditions ('Über die ionische Wanderung' in *SBBerl.* 1906), adds a fresh argument by his illuminative suggestion that the motley crowd of Greek settlers who took part in the migrations across the Aegean called themselves by the collective name of 'Achaeans,' in the wide Homeric sense of the word. In course of time the name was misinterpreted to refer to the Peloponnesian Achaea, so that this unpretending country had great renown thrust upon her to which she had no title and was saluted as the home of Ion and his people (Hdt. i. 145, vii. 94; Strabo, 383; Paus. vii. 1). The misapprehension was also invited by the philological error, corrected by Aristarchus (*Elym. Magn.* 547), which derived 'Heliconian,' the appellative attached to Poseidon at the Panionium on Mycale (Hdt. i. 148), from Helice in Achaea (Hom. *Il.* xx. 404; cf. viii. 203; *Hymn.* xxii. 3; Strabo, 384; Paus. vii. 24), and by the coincidence that the Achaean and the Ionian leagues both numbered twelve cities (Hdt. i. 145; Strabo, 383; cf. Paus. vii. 6). The structure or internal evidence of the stories which bring Xuthus and Ion to Achaea, and the seniority of Achaeus to Ion in the Hesiodic genealogy shew that the association between the Ionians and the Achaeans must have been earlier than the Athenian propaganda, and so confirm the suggestion of von Wilamowitz and the conclusion drawn from the local traditions.

We may lightly sweep aside the alleged Ionians of Achaea, and with them their correlative Pelasgians, but to the Athenians the prior claim of Achaea presented a serious additional obstacle to be demolished or circumvented. Their whole case indeed was full of difficulties, but they understood the arguments against it and endeavoured to meet them with logical counterpleas. If it was objected that Ion was not an Athenian by descent, he was provided with an Athenian princess for a mother, and his father Xuthus was domiciled in Attica. If Xuthus and his sons must go to Achaea, Ion was fetched back to fight against the Thracians of Eleusis, and was securely entombed at Potami. If Xuthus was too obstinately



Achaean (Eur. *Ion*, 64), Apollo was available for Ion's father, although it is doubtful whether any Ionians but the Athenians accepted him as such, for Apollo *πατρώος*, so far as we know, is peculiar to Athens among Ionic cities (Farnell, *Cults*, IV, pp. 152-161), and neither Herodotus nor Socrates' interlocutor Dionysodorus (Plato, *Euthyd.* 302), who was a native of Chios where Zeus was *πατρώος*, appears to acknowledge him by that title. If the Athenian people in their domestic quarrels abjured an Ionic origin, before the outside public they assiduously posed as the first and foremost of the Ionians, their chief representatives in the Delphic amphictyony, the presidents of their Delian festival, their protectors and their liberators from the Persian yoke.

But the main problem was by hook or crook to shepherd the heterogeneous *oecists* and their contingents to Attica, the quay from which they were to be shipped to Ionia. In Attica they received, so to say, a certificate of matriculation and were registered as Athenians. The Ionicised 'Aegialean Pelasgians' had on any theory to be cleared out of Achaea to make room for the historical Achaeans, and could just as well be brought to Attica and exported thence to Ionia as dispatched straight to Asia; here at any rate the Atticisers had an equal chance of bluffing their opponents. As for the other migrants, the Athenians by naturalising Melanthus, father of Codrus, secured a trump card whereby they captured the kings of more than half of the cities of the Ionian league. Putting the Athenian argument into general terms, Thucydides (i. 2) describes Attica as a refuge where the dispossessed of other lands congregated and were incorporated into the body of citizens, until at length the pressure of the swollen population had to be relieved by the colonisation of Ionia. Herodotus, by heart an Athenian but by birth a Halicarnassian, knows too much about the Ionians to say with the Athenian Thucydides that they are *ἀπ'* 'Αθηναίων, but readily agrees that they are *ἀπ'* 'Αθηνέων (Thuc. ii. 15, vii. 57; Hdt. i. 146-7, vii. 95, viii. 46-8).

(iii) Judged by the canons of ancient Greek diplomacy the Athenian case, recoverable from scattered references in Herodotus, Euripides, Strabo, Pausanias and other authorities, is a skilful piece of controversial pleading. The more one studies it, the better one perceives how much care and thought was spent on its construction, how complicated and intractable were the data, how many the pitfalls to be avoided, genealogical discrepancies to be harmonised, chronological puzzles to be solved or gaps to be bridged. But its methods are archaic and its arguments no longer convince.

It is difficult to believe that the Ionic Tribes found in Attica were indigenous. They belong not to the earlier population but to the latest incomers. Greek theorists obsessed by the *idol* of the Legislator might ascribe their institution to Ion (Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 41; Strabo, 383), but a truer instinct derived them from his sons (Hdt. v. 66; Eur. *Ion*, 1579-81; Plut. *Sol.* 23). They are based on kinship; there is no evidence, unless hazardous inferences from a notoriously untrustworthy chapter (8) of Aristotle's *Constitution of the Athenians* can be called evidence, to show that they ever had any connexion with territorial districts. They cannot,



therefore, be explained as a result of the union of Attica; and the creation of fresh divisions would have been quite contrary to the policy of Theseus and the interests of the dominant aristocracy. The Tribes, in fact, appear to be a natural growth from a system of social customs rather than an artificial construction, and it is probable that the Ionians of Attica inherited them from their nomad ancestors.

However that may be, there are reasons for rejecting the opinion that Attica was the root from which the Ionic Tribes were originally propagated into the other Ionian communities. First, Herodotus (v. 69) regards the four ancient Tribes of the Athenians as generically Ionic, not specifically Attic; at all events that is the natural interpretation of his argument. Second, although Herodotus does not say, and need not be understood to mean, that *every* Ionian city had the four Tribes, and although we are not justified in assuming without other evidence that all four existed even where one or two or three are known, yet the four or one or more of them are already attested at not a few Ionian cities and with the progress of excavation, scarcely now beginning in Asia Minor, may be confidently expected to be discovered at many more. All four are epigraphically certified at Cyzicus and by valid inferences at Miletus and Delos; the Geleontes are known from inscriptions at Teos and Perinthus; the Hopletes at Miletus; the Aegicoreis at Istrus, Tomi and Perinthus; the Argadeis at Miletus and Tomi and as a *chiliastys* at Ephesus (Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* I, p. 279, Bilabel, *Ion. Kolon.* p. 256; Hiller v. Gaertringen, *Miletos* in *RE.* pp. 1589, 1595). It is surely incredible that a tribal organisation so widespread and so national was derived from a State still so insignificant politically as Athens, which had an almost negligible share in the settlement of Ionia.

This second objection might be lessened if we could fully accept at their face value the colonial claims of the Ionian states of Ionia, particularly Miletus (cf. *CIG.* 2878); but those claims appear to be not much better than the metropolitan pretensions of Athens. The very number of colonies attributed to Miletus suggests that the Milesian element in them was extremely small. Most of these foundations were probably no more than the establishment of an agency by a commercial company or bank in an existing town. Bilabel remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 60), 'verschwindend wenige Städte milesische Originalgründungen sind.' To many of them other origins, Greek or Barbarian, were ascribed, just as their reputed mother-cities had their own traditions to oppose to the claims of Athens. Conversely affiliations were easily fabricated to suit convenience, as we see in the case of Apollonia ad Rhyndacum (*Milet.* III, No. 155). Such methods of 'colonisation' cannot be supposed to have determined the constitutional structure of communities of even quite rudimentary civilisation.

A third objection, given its full weight, is still more conclusive against the derivation of the Ionic tribal system from Attica. In several Ionic states two Tribes foreign to Attica are found beside the four, or some of the four, there represented. Both these two, the Boreis and the Oenopes, are attested at Cyzicus and Miletus and as *chiliastyes* at Ephesus, the Boreis



at Perinthus, and the Oenopes at Tomi. There is no reason whatsoever for regarding them as extraneous in origin or later in date or different in race. They appear to be in all respects exactly on a level with the other Tribes and to be equally Ionic. They are not peculiar to Miletus and her colonies, for Perinthus is reckoned a Samian foundation. What is surprising is that they are absent from Attica and Delos rather than that they are present in the eastern Ionic cities; but it is easier to account for their default by the accidents of migration than for their adoption or artificial institution by a fusion with an alien people or peoples. The suggestion that they were connected with Thessalian and Boeotian elements in the population is the merest speculation. Herodotus (v. 66) is not concerned with any other Ionic Tribes than the four represented in Attica; his mention of the four *Eponymi* does not restrict Ion's sons to four; perhaps the Milesians recognised six. But if the full complement of the Ionic Tribes numbered six, Attica, which had four only, cannot be their source.

If Attica cannot be accepted as the stock whence the Ionic Tribes were propagated either directly or through colonies, still less can it be maintained that the other Ionians derived from the Athenians the religious cults and social institutions, especially the Apaturia and the phratic system implied in that celebration, which were common to all, or almost all, of them (Hdt. i. 147; Thuc. ii. 15, iii. 104; cf. Bilabel, *op. cit.* pp. 70-71). These national customs and worships are too universal and too intimately connected with the fundamental structure of Ionian society to be attributed to a handful of immigrants among so many. What power or influence can be imputed to the few Athenian settlers to enable them to impose their own religious and parochial practices upon the vast majority or induce them to adopt a new organisation of their family life? One might as well argue that the Ionic dialect was dictated from Athens! In fact the derivation of these distinctive features of Ionic nationality from Attica stands and falls with the metropolitan pretensions of Athens which we have already dismissed.

(iv) There is much, therefore, to be said for the contrary doctrine, which inverts the Athenian contention and holds that Ionic nationality was evolved, and its distinctive civilisation, characteristic institutions, and peculiar dialect were developed, in Ionia and the adjacent islands out of the motley population dumped on their coasts by the Migrations (Eduard Meyer, *Forsch.* I, pp. 125-150; *Gesch. d. Alt.* II, §§ 155-159; von Wilamowitz, *Aristot. u. Athen.* II, 5; 'Über die ionische Wanderung' in *SBBerl.* 1906). This theory recognises the defects in the rival argument, but on the constructive side it is open to similar or not less formidable objections.

It is no less difficult to conceive how, in the brief interval of two or three centuries between the Migrations and the emergence of an Ionian language, literature and art, this distinctive Ionicism could have been evolved among the mixed population of Ionia, or could have permeated that amorphous mass from a single Ionian focus, than to account for its propagation from Attica. Eduard Meyer, to be sure, tried to give more



time for the process by his suggestion that the Greek settlement of the west coast of Asia Minor was really a product of the Mycenaean age; but whatever may have been the relation between the Hittite kings and Hellenic princes as revealed by the documents from Boghaz Keui, the convergent testimonies of Greek tradition, Homer, and archaeological exploration preclude us from placing the colonisation before the Trojan war; and it is probable that the collapse of the Hittite Empire about that date first opened Ionia to the Greeks and to Aegean commerce (Hogarth, *Ionia and the East*, III, IV; *CAH.* II, Ch. XI, § III, Ch. XX, §§ I, II).

It is no less difficult to derive the Ionicism of Attica from Ionia than to derive the Ionicism of Ionia from Attica. Accelerate the evolution of Ionic nationality as we may, the incorporation of Attica would fall so late that it cannot be reconciled with Athenian history and must have left some record. Why should the advent of Ion have been put four or five generations before the Trojan war? How is it that to Homer the Athenians in that war are already Ionians and wear the Ionic dress (*Il.* xiii. 685; *Hymn. Apoll.* 147; cf. *Thuc.* i. 6, iii. 104)? Is it probable that the Athenians deliberately adopted the four Tribes from Miletus?—why not six? Is it credible that they imported from abroad their Apaturia and other festivals, and their phratric system? and can we believe that the Ionic element in the Attic dialect was infused by mere commercial intercourse? Fundamental transmutations such as those postulate either a far longer time than is allowed or a much more drastic method than infiltration.

Nor does the argument become convincing if Athens, instead of being regarded as a satellite drawn from outside into the orbit of the new star rising in the east, is given a share in the development by making her a subordinate partner in a loose amphictyonic union, centred in Delos, out of which Ionic nationality may have grown. For there is no evidence of any close or political union, and without some prior homogeneity or binding authority among the members the results could never have been achieved in the time and under the primitive conditions. No parallel example can be quoted of such remarkable effects produced so quickly and on so large a scale by a Greek religious league, formed apparently for the purpose of an ἀγών γυμνικὸς καὶ μουσικὸς, upon a congregation of scattered communities composed of the most diverse ingredients.

So, to sum up this intricate discussion, Asiatic Ionia and the Ionic fringe of European Greece, akin in speech and imbued with a common culture, confront one another across the Aegean sea (cf. *Eur. Ion*, 1581–88), but neither can be accepted as the mother country of the other, nor, consequently, as the cradle of Ionic nationality. If it be urged, as by Eduard Meyer (*Forsch.* I, p. 135), that the site of Ionia, a coastal strip on the margin of a mainland, proves its colonial origin, the same proof applies equally to the European Ionia. The natural conclusion is that their Ionicism was derived from a common source outside of both.



## III. THE PELASGIANS AND THE IONIANS

(i) Let us turn back to the Pelasgians. We have argued that the Trojan Catalogue sets a solid block of Pelasgians between the Hebrus and the Euxine, and that a similar block between the Strymon and the Adriatic may be reconstructed out of memories preserved in Homer and fragments surviving in historical times. The shattered condition of this western block is not surprising, for it lay right athwart the march of every invader of Greece. Between the two Pelasgian strongholds are camped the Thracian tribes. Massed in deep formation right back to the Danube and known to Homer as Europeans only, the Thracians must have come (whether before or after the Pelasgians) from the north, probably through the gap between the Euxine and the Carpathians.

From this geographical distribution it is an obvious inference that the Pelasgians had once occupied the whole tract of country from the Euxine to the Adriatic, but that an onset of the Thracians had broken through their centre and had left their two wings disrupted. The result would be that a wave of dispossessed Pelasgians would descend upon the lands to the south; and the Ionic bridge of promontories and islands, spanning the Aegean at its narrowest point and subtending the northern bight between the Strymon and the Hebrus, naturally suggests itself as a weir that might stay the flood and provide these refugees with a new home.

We have seen reason to conclude that the Ionians themselves were the authors of the doctrine so confidently stated by Herodotus, that the Ionians were originally Pelasgians, and that the theory which made all the pre-Hellenic inhabitants of Greece south of Thessaly into Pelasgians was derived from that same source. This theory, a generalisation from their own case alone, cannot be accepted; but may not the belief of the Ionians in their own Pelasgian origin preserve a genuine tradition? May not a Pelasgian element in the Ionians be the common factor among them, and the differentia which distinguishes them from the other Greeks? May not here be found an explanation of the peculiarly Ionic dialect, institutions and civilisation? At least the hypothesis seems to be worth consideration. Let us examine it, and see how it agrees with other evidence about the Aegean world at the appropriate date.

The hypothesis postulates that it was the rupture of the Pelasgian dam in the north by the Thracians that inundated with a Pelasgian population the countries afterwards known as Ionic. The surf of the wave may well have bespattered many of the adjacent lands with spots and splashes of Pelasgians and Thracians, often no doubt, in fact, intermingled and soon confused in the records. It is therefore quite natural that there are alleged survivals or reminiscences, some of which may be authentic, of sporadic Pelasgians or Thracians all over central Greece and north-western Asia Minor, and that Homer knows a far-flung flock of Pelasgians in Crete. But the full swell of the flood must be supposed to have swamped the Ionic weir lying across its sweep down the Aegean and to have imbued it with a new strain of blood.



The premises from which the hypothesis is deduced shew that this cataclysm must be put before the Trojan war. The arrival in Attica of Ion, from whom the Athenians received the name of Ionians (Hdt. viii. 44), gives the synchronism required to define the date. Unfortunately ancient controversies have confused the precise time of his advent, but at all events it marks the last of the four cardinal stages recorded by Herodotus in the formation of the Athenian people, and it is placed by fairly general consent of the authorities four or five generations before the fall of Troy. The influx of the Pelasgians, therefore, if they were the original Ionians, may be referred to the middle or the second half of the fourteenth century B.C.

By that time Attica had long been a Greek country, probably for at least two or three centuries. Even Herodotus, who accepted the 'Hesiodic' genealogy and therefore, like Thucydides, could not logically admit the Hellenisation of the Athenians before the coming of Ion, Hellen's grandson, and in accordance with the Ionian doctrine threw their Pelasgian period back to the beginning of their history, allows them, if not a rudimentary Hellenism, at any rate a first split from the Pelasgic stock in the reign of Cecrops, which is dated by Eusebius (Castor) from 1556 and by the Parian Marble from 1582 B.C. Presumably Euboea, Delos and other Cyclades, and any Peloponnesian district, such as Cynuria, that became Ionian, received their Hellenic and their Pelasgic immigrants at about the same dates as Attica hers. Thus on the western side of the Aegean the Pelasgic stratum overlaid the Greek.

The natural result would be to alienate the western Ionians for a time from their Hellenic neighbours. In fact they cut a very poor figure in the national Epic, and the scant recognition accorded to them by Homer, although sufficient to warrant the inference drawn by Herodotus (ii. 51) that by the date of the Trojan war the Pelasgians of Attica were ἤδη ἐς Ἑλλήνας τελέοντες, is in perfect harmony with the hypothesis.

On the eastern side of the Aegean the strata are reversed. Although some islands are already colonised by Greeks, and Hellenic princes, as the Hittite documents shew, have dominions on the mainland, continental Asia Minor is to Homer still Barbarian; the Migrations have not yet begun; the Mycenaean culture has hardly won any foothold in Ionia. Here the Hellenic layer must be assumed to be superimposed upon the Pelasgic. Menecrates of Elaea, writing near the end of the fourth century B.C. but probably drawing on Hecataeus or Xanthus Lydus, says as much (Strabo, 621; cf. 550, 572).

Such a stratification in the population which became *par excellence* the Ionians would give a very simple explanation of their belief in their Pelasgic origin, and this acceptable solution of an outstanding historical problem may be counted to the credit of the hypothesis. The Ionians of Ionia would have been real Pelasgians before the Greek Migrations had Hellenised them.

(ii) On the other hand, an obvious objection arises from the silence of Homer, who acknowledges no Pelasgians in the Ionic zone of the Aegean. The Abantes of Euboea have a place in the Catalogue (II. ii.



536) and, if derived from Thrace (as by Aristotle in Strabo 445), might have been connected with them, but Herodotus (i. 146) emphatically denies them any Ionic affinities. The Ionians appear to be the only other inhabitants of the belt. The *Iliad* notices them once (xiii. 685), with a glance at their odd dragging shirts, but only the Athenians are catalogued (ii. 546) or receive a special mention (xiii. 689), which in the context is a double-edged compliment. We must turn to the Hymn to Apollo (146 *seqq.*) for an ampler recognition of their range and influence.

Homer's reticence about the Ionians may solve the difficulty of his silence about the Pelasgians, for (as hinted above) both may be taken to express the same sentiment and imply that the Ionians are Pelasgians. The poet seems to feel the constraint of his tradition; the Pelasgians proper are in the wrong camp, the western Ionians are recent recruits to Hellenism, the eastern Ionians are not yet redeemed from Barbarism and better left out of account—the story of the war is no occasion for reminding them of Pelasgian ancestry.

The change of nomenclature, Pelasgians to Ionians, never worried the Ancients, who could always refer it to Ion (cf. Hdt. viii. 44), but without that resource it is still capable of an easy explanation. Colonists, especially independent communities, seldom keep the name of their old compatriots. After the supposed catastrophe in Thrace the realm between the Hebrus and the Euxine would be the sole Pelasgian state left intact, and would retain the title; neither the scattered refugees in the Aegean nor the dismembered and derelict remnants west of the Strymon would any longer be described by it. The Pelasgian nation—*nomen Pelasgum*, the Romans would say—was composed, as the Catalogue's Φύλα Πελασγῶν indicate, of a number of tribes. The dispersed members would likely enough come to be called for distinction's sake by the tribal names predominant in each; Iaones might be one such name, Paiones another, Aones and Chaones possibly others; they were Pelasgians by race, but not by nationality.

But the objection recurs with regard to the Ionian name. We can point, with Homer's assent, to Ionians in the western Aegean before the Trojan war, but to none in Asia before the Migrations, for the reading Yaunna or Jevanna in Ramses II's list of the allies of the Hittites is now discredited. That there *were* Ionians in Ionia before the Greeks may be inferred from the belief of the eastern Ionians in their own Pelasgic origin, for the Greek immigrants brought next to nothing Ionic in their motley swarms. The silence of the post-Homeric authorities was inevitable, for in the lack of any Homeric evidence they were bound by the accepted national pedigree propagated by Hesiod to regard the Ionians as Hellenes or to derive their name from Ion, who hailed from Greece. Thus the strength of the objection lies in the silence of Homer alone.

Any attempt to account for Homer's silence is perhaps a mere groping in the dark, but one possible reason might be conjectured which was adduced above to explain why he ignored all Pelasgians in Ionia, that he was unwilling to compromise the Hellenic loyalty of his Ionian kinsfolk. Other reasons might be suggested; the poet or his authorities may have



regarded the Hellenic Ionians of the west as 'the Ionians,' and therefore could not apply the name to the pre-Hellenic Ionians of Asia—we do not call the Germans 'Dutch,' because the name is already appropriated to our nearer neighbours in Holland; or he may have felt that in view of the later connotation of the word it was impossible to speak of Ionians in Ionia before the Migrations. So he avoids any mention of the Barbarian Ionians; but he does assign the country inland of Ionia to a people whose name, Maiones, differing from Paiones by one letter only, strongly suggests affinity to the Ionians and to the Pelasgians.

The Pelasgian settlements south of the Propontis and in the North Aegean provoke another objection. We have argued that they were planted after the Trojan war, long after the cataclysm which *ex hypothesi* gave to the central Aegean zone its Ionic character. Homer recognises no Pelasgians in any of them, but in several Sintians, Minyans, or other peoples. It is not surprising that the fugitives in their flight from Thrace should have failed to occupy or retain such of these northern posts as lay on their way; but how did the Pelasgians acquire them afterwards? If the Ionians had recovered them by a counter-attack from the south, would they not have been called Ionian instead of Pelasgian?

We have learnt to distrust the metropolitan pretensions of the Athenians and to suspect that the conquests ascribed by them to the Pelasgian squatters expelled from Attica included no more than Lemnos. Samothrace and Placia and Scylace are delivered from their snare by the interpretation of Herodotus which makes them not the objectives but the bases of those roving filibusters. This clue guides to a sufficient answer to the question. The Pelasgian state between the Hebrus and the Euxine did not long survive the Trojan war; it was no doubt swept away by the Thracians when they advanced into Bithynia. Its downfall, which must on Homer's and other evidence have been after the war, would launch a fresh deluge of Pelasgians from the north-east upon the southern shore of the Propontis and the islands of the North Aegean. Placia and Scylace and Samothrace would be the first rallying-places of the refugees, whence they would spread to their other pitches and as far as Attica.

It is perhaps significant that the Ionic Tribes are so strongly represented in the cities of the west shore of the Euxine and at Perinthus on the European and Cyzicus on the Asiatic coast of the Propontis hard by Placia and Scylace; and that the word Ἀπείρουρος is so curiously associated with the Pontic colonies. The last Pelasgian state may have left these traces strewn around its ancient seat. But after its dissolution there was no longer anywhere a Pelasgia, nor any Pelasgian in the national or political sense of the name; save a few scattered πολίσματα the Pelasgians persist only as an element in other communities, or under alien government, or under other appellations, or as an historical tradition, *magni nominis umbra*.

(iii) The hypothesis above proposed is avowedly no more than a conjectural suggestion, but it appears to fit the data and to offer an intelligible explanation of the main problems about the Pelasgians and the Ionians. I leave to others better qualified to apply to it the tests of com-



parative philology and archaeology, but so far as I am acquainted with their results, neither the philologists nor the archaeologists have yet reached any positive conclusions incompatible with it.

The investigation leads back to two perplexing questions—Who were the Pelasgians by race? and, How did they come to occupy the station *ex hypothesi* assigned to them between the Euxine and the Adriatic? There is no trustworthy record of their *provenance*, but they can hardly have come from any quarter other than the north or the east. If from the north, their geographical situation would imply that they arrived after the first-comers of the Greeks, although not the Dorian or North-western invaders, had taken possession of Greece, and before the advent of the Thracians. This alternative would not conflict with the hypothesis, but there is more to be said for the other. Herodotus (vii. 20; cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 206) refers to a vast host of Mysians and Teucrians who, before the Trojan war, having crossed the Bosphorus into Europe, subjugated 'all the Thracians' and spread down to the Adriatic and southwards as far as the river Peneius. It is an obvious suggestion to associate the Pelasgians with this conquest, which overran an area closely corresponding to the territory assigned to them.

Recent historians have dismissed the notice in Herodotus as a dim and inverted reminiscence of the south-easterly movement of Thracian tribes into Asia Minor. But the notice is perfectly clear, precise in detail, and impossible to explain as an inversion; and, in accordance with the Homeric and other evidence, the Thracian movement is placed by common consent after the Trojan war, and has been brought into relation with the fall of the Hittite empire and the attacks by the Northerners upon Egypt, whereas the Mysian and Teucrian conquest is expressly dated by Herodotus before the Trojan war (cf. Hom. *Il.* xiii. 3-6). The tide of invasion, even Indo-European, has not always set in the same direction across the straits between Europe and Asia, but from the dawn of history has swung to and fro. A confederate migration (which should include elements incorporated in the Lydian and adjacent peoples), passing south of the Caspian and the Euxine to the Aegean and beyond, becomes a more and more tenable proposition as our knowledge of the Eastern nations grows. The Briges, Dardanians, Mygdones, on or west of the Axios, and the Moesians (if accepted as Mysians) might have been left behind by not the flowing but the ebbing tide, as Turks still remain after the Ottoman retreat. The 'Thracians in Asia' may have been driven from their homes on the Strymon by Teucrians and Mysians (Hdt. vii. 75), and then chased them back over the Bosphorus. A conquest of Thrace from the Asiatic side in the (say) fifteenth century B.C. need excite no more surprise than the Thracian conquest of Bithynia in the twelfth.

Is the coincidence of the Pelasgian territory with that subjugated by the Mysians and Teucrians a mere coincidence, or is there any other evidence of association or affinity between the Pelasgians and those peoples? Some partnership may be surmised in the appearance or reappearance of bands of Teucrians and Mysians and Phrygians on the move in the Hellenic region soon after the fall of Troy (Hdt. v. 122, vii. 43; Strabo,



565, 572, 680, mainly following Xanthus Lydus); they may be supposed to have shared in the *débâcle*, which we have put at about that date, of the last Pelasgian realm in Thrace. But this synchronism is not precise and might be explained away as a mere coincidence in time.

For a less doubtful connexion through kinship one turns first to the criterion of language. Here Herodotus gives help towards at least a negative definition. He attests (i. 57) that the Pelasgians living in his own time at Creston and at Placia and Scylace, who professed and called themselves Pelasgians, and the Pelasgians in other small townships no longer so called, spoke a language not Greek, and that in particular the language spoken by the Pelasgians of Creston and of Placia was the same in both places, but different from that of their neighbours. He argues convincingly that these Pelasgians, speaking the same peculiar tongue in diverse environments, must be presumed to speak the original Pelasgian language, and therefore the original Pelasgian language was not Greek. Although, having other, historical, reasons for distinguishing the Pelasgians from the Hellenes, he does not infer from these premises that they were not Greeks, yet we must almost inevitably draw that conclusion. But it is more pertinent to our present quest to note that it follows from his testimony that the Pelasgians cannot have been of the same speech, and therefore of the same race, as the Mysians, who with the Thracians are the most obvious and comprehensive of nations contiguous to their homes and known to have had a language of their own.

In default of any kinship with the Mysians can the Pelasgians be connected with their allies and brethren in arms, the Teucrians? According to Herodotus (v. 13) the Paconians were Teucrians, and if, as is possible, they bordered on Crestonia, they ought on his shewing to speak a different language from the Pelasgians. But if, as was argued above, the Paconians are to be included with the Pelagonians in the *Nomen Pelasgum*, this objection loses its force. Similarly, according to Herodotus (i. 57) the Pelasgians of Creston dwelt inland of the Tyrrhenians, but Thucydides (iv. 109) identifies the Pelasgians of the Athos peninsula, in the same region, with 'the Tyrrhenians who once settled in Lemnos and Athens.' The equation of Pelasgians with Tyrrhenians is attested also by Sophocles and Hellanicus (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* i. 25, 28) and is very generally endorsed by the later writers. Dionysius, to be sure, rejects it (i. 29), but mainly on the evidence of Herodotus transferred to Italy by reading for Creston Croton (Cortona), where it would no doubt have more serious import. The Tyrrhenians south of Creston, living (as Thucydides says) κατὰ μικρὰ πολίσματα, might fall into Herodotus' class of ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικά ἔοντα πολίσματα τὸ οὐνομα μετέβαλε, and we may confidently believe that Thucydides at least and his contemporaries had better reasons for the identification than their critics have adduced for denying it.

The significance of the equation lies in the possibility that the Tyrrhenians and the Teucrians may prove to be of the same race. Tursha, Tursenoi, Tu(r)sci, Etrusci, Teukroi, are near enough to suggest synonymity. (If the ε in Teukroi is an objection, why may Dionysius write Λεύκιος and Λευκαῖοι?) The Teucrians are in historic times most conspicuous



in Cyprus and Cilicia, where Tarcon or Tarchon answers to Tarcho or Tarquin in Etruria. The Teucrians and Gergithes of western Asia Minor cannot be dissociated from the Teucrians and Gerginoi of Cilicia and Cyprus. Pottery of Cypriote character is familiar at Troy. Homer records Cilicians on the edge of the Troad. The Cilicians of Cappadocia and possibly the Lycaonians (cf. Maiones, Paiones, Iaones) may supply intermediate links. Herodotus (i. 94) derives the Tyrrhenians of Italy from Lydia, and the Lydian inscriptions now forthcoming have convinced philologists that there is a common element in the Lydian and Etruscan languages (J. Fraser, 'The Lydian Language,' in *Anatolian Studies*; J. Friedrich, *Gesch. d. indogerm. Sprachwissenschaft*, II. V. 1, 7; C. D. Buck, 'Language of Greece' in *ClPh.* XXI. 1926). Of special interest is the famous Lemnian inscription (*IG.* xii. 8. 1; cf. C. D. Buck, *op. cit.*), which can no longer be denied to be closely related to the Etruscan; it is assigned to a date not earlier than the seventh century B.C., but it comes from a particularly well-authenticated focus of Pelasgo-Tyrrhenians within sight of Mount Athos. The scene of the capture of Dionysus by the Tyrrhenian pirates (Hom. *Hymn.* vii) might be laid there, but cannot be fixed. The Teucrians with the Mysians overran Thrace, as Herodotus records, from the Bosphorus to the Adriatic coast, whence according to Hellanicus the Pelasgians who founded Etruria crossed the sea to Italy. On the whole it might be inferred ἐξ εὐκρίτων καὶ σημείων that the Tyrrhenians and the Teucrians were one kin which had moved across the Aegean area from east to west shedding shreds and leaving traces of its passage.

Dionysius again protests; arguing from the silence of Xanthus and the difference between the languages and institutions of the Lydians and the Etruscans he rejects the derivation of the Tyrrhenians from Lydia. But the mere silence of Xanthus, the starting-point and limits of whose book is unknown, cannot refute the statement of Herodotus supported by the linguistic evidence, and the mixed composition and diverse circumstances of the Lydian nation might well account for its difference from the Etruscan in speech and customs. One practice, however, may be conjectured to have been common to both; the δεκάτευσις which is invoked by Xanthus (Strabo, 572) to explain the relation between the Mysians and the Lydians, and may be suspected to underlie Herodotus' story of the lots cast to select the emigrants, strongly resembles the δεκάτευσις ascribed by Dionysius (i. 23-4) on the authority of Myrsilus of Lesbos to the Pelasgians in Etruria and recalls the Italic rite of the *ver sacrum*.

In spite, therefore, of Dionysius there seems to be a fair case for connecting the Tyrrhenians with the Teucrians, and if so, the Teucrians with the Pelasgians. The latter combination would, it may be added, afford on the hypothesis proposed a simple explanation of the appearance of Teucer and the Teucrians in Attica and in Crete.

But these high speculative problems are beyond the scope of the present inquiry, which purports to deal only with the Pelasgians and Ionians in their own proper habitations.

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## AN ORPHIC BOWL

[PLATES III, IV, V.]

THE alabaster bowl which is our subject is at present in the possession of Dr. J. Hirsch of Geneva and is published with his kind consent. Until recently it was in a private collection in Leipzig; it was presumably acquired in the Mediterranean area several decades ago.<sup>1</sup> Its principal dimensions are:—

Diam. at top, 22 cm.; h. 8 cm.; greatest depth, 5.5 cm.; diam. of the central knob of the base, 4 cm., and of the outer base-ring, 16 cm.; h. of arcade, 4 cm. Measurements seem to be based on an inch of about 2 cm.

The bowl was worked freehand, without the lathe, and is accordingly somewhat uneven and irregular in shape. A deep point in the middle of the bottom indicates that the compass was used to control distances. The carving was done with some form of knife; the cutting is plainly visible round and between the letters of the inscription (fig. 1), at the edges of the

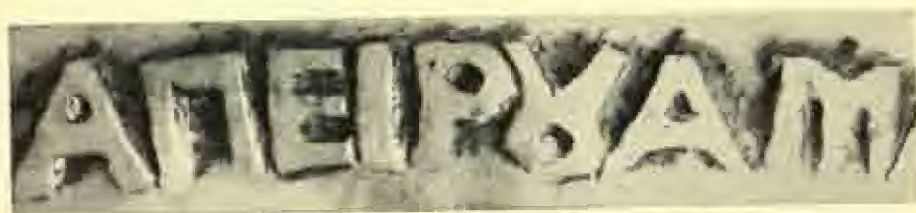


FIG. 1.—PART OF THE INSCRIPTION, ENLARGED TO SHOW KNIFE-MARKS.

hair, and elsewhere. The drill cannot be distinctly traced, but the surface is worn and marks of tooling have almost entirely disappeared. The figures and the dragon, on the interior, and most of the exterior were polished; but the ground above the heads of the figures, and the omphalos were left dull, and so perhaps were the fields of the exterior arcade. This difference of surface finish corresponds to the original polychromy, of which slight but unmistakable traces remain, recalling the miniatures of a Purple Codex; details will be given later.

In shape the bowl reproduces closely a vessel of beaten metal composed of two separate parts—the inner actual phiale, and an outer basket in which the former lay. The metal origin no doubt was used for libations; the alabaster copy would be a votive offering. The inner phiale is fairly

<sup>1</sup> H. Lamer, *Eine spätgr. Schale mit orphischer Aufschrift*, in *PhW.* 51 (1931), 853 ff. (note, conclusions generally correct). Negatives and other

illustrations of details at the Akad. Kunstmuseum, Bonn, Hofgartenstr. 2.



deep with sharp edge and in the centre is a circular emblem with an egg-shaped pointed omphalos of familiar type (fig. 2).<sup>2</sup> The bottom of the basket has a flatter curve, and its sides are more upright and do not reach as far as the edge of the phiale, so that this, on the metal original, could be conveniently grasped and lifted out. On the bottom of the basket is a central knob surrounded by a flattened conical channel; around this runs a thick basal ring flattened on the underside, and outside this again is a second and larger ring. Knob and inner ring project a little further than the outer ring; the bowl was probably meant to stand not on a hard surface but on a soft cushion into which it sank. Immediately outside the outer ring, just where base curves up into side, is a third moulding almost in three-quarter projection. On it is cut in raised letters a Greek inscription of Orphic import. The side of the basket is divided into an arcade; through the openings we see the inner phiale with its side curving away downwards more sharply. The arcade is bent to follow the curve of the basket and thereby its projection grows shallower. Twenty-eight columns

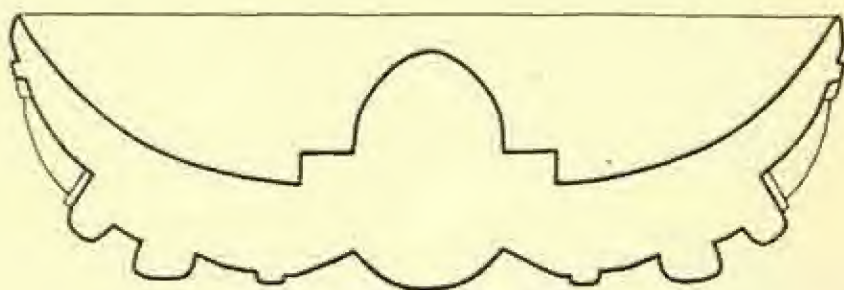


FIG. 2.—SECTION OF THE BOWL.

are visible, four more are concealed by floating Erotes. The columns stand on the inscribed moulding; they have a primitive, unclassical form: thin square bases, the angles sometimes cut away; massive, strongly tapered shafts with entasis and no capitals; the flat arches project beyond the ends of the shafts.

The shape of the bowl is tectonically clear and defined, simple and solid in the whole and in parts. Provincial in the sense of a clumsy reproduction from a fine metropolitan model it cannot be called; it indicates rather a skilled if limited art possessed of naïve self-assurance.

In describing the decoration we shall for the moment record the facts, omitting all attempt at far-reaching explanation. The Orphic import, which is certain, has already been presumed, but we shall arrive at a proof of it when we come to the inscriptions.

Around the omphalos is coiled a fat dragon with small wings and a slender tapering lizard's tail (fig. 3). His head is laid to one side as if resting, but he does not sleep; his eye is wide open. The head is somewhat like a lizard's, but has grinning teeth and small pointed ears, such as are

<sup>2</sup> *DS. s.v. phiale* (Pottier); Walters, *Hist. Art.* Kaibel, p. 103). Such a cup was called *φάλη* Pottier, I, 191, fig. 53; Athenaeus, XI, 103 (ed. *βελανιδιόφαιος* (Athen. *ed. cit.*, p. 106, 17).



often found in representations of snakes in Greek art.<sup>3</sup> The eye is rounded; the nostrils are indicated but not the tongue. The rounded scales are hollowed for some coloured paste (see below). The omphalos is surrounded by an open flower with four overlapping rings of petals, the three inner rows of pointed shape. The first lies on the *emblema* and is double; between the leaves the tops of a lower row are visible. The second and third rows encircle the *emblema*; in the third the leaves have a sunken central rib;



FIG. 3.—THE DRAGON.

on the other rows the centre line may have been indicated by a painted line. The outermost ring, on the other hand, is composed of long spiky leaves which extend almost to the edge of the bowl and which are only visible between the figures.

In the concave interior of the phiale (PL. III) stand sixteen naked figures, set radially, stiff and frontal, heads under the lip, feet to the centre; they are imagined as looking towards the dragon. Four old men,

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Matzulewitsch, *Byzant. Ant.* T. 2, 3 (early Byzantine silver cup).



three young men, and nine young women compose the motley ring. Arms and hands are held schematically in devotional poses. One hand, generally the right, rests somewhere near the heart; the other may be raised palm outward in the attitude of prayer, but this only happens in the case of the men, who therefore are praying on behalf of the women. It is rare that the free hand hangs down passively; women hold it in front of the body. Whether elders, youths, and women in any way represent family groups cannot be decided, for the figures stand without any visible connexion. The men seem to be infibulated, an indication of cult chastity. The physical type—one might call it seal-like—is very characteristic; it tallies with the tectonic temperament of the bowl and the fattened appearance of the dragon. It gives an impression of thorough-going cold-bloodedness, un-Greek and not over-soulful. The figures (fig. 4) have thin legs and plump torsos; the necks are invisible, the heads egg-shaped, with sloping and commonplace profiles, straight mouths, and weak chins. The women's breasts are flat and big. On the men the hair is like a flat cap; it is apparently cut to half-length, the edges trimmed. The old men have bald foreheads. On the women the hair is parted in front, which suggests that it was gathered in a knot behind. Young men and women show the same youthful, expressionless type of face (Pl. V); the old men, on the contrary, have wrinkled foreheads, thick brows, hollow cheeks, hooked noses, pointed or full beards, and drooping moustaches. The features, especially of the old men, are somewhat differentiated, as if they were portraits, but this is probably unintentional. We have the worshippers of the Dragon-god in lowly nudity praying to him in congregation; there seem to be no priests. Cult nudity is no unusual phenomenon and is expressly attested for the Orphics.<sup>4</sup>

The four Erotes on the exterior of the basket float with knees slightly bent and little wings spread out on each side; they blow long and simply represented sea-shells (fig. 5). The free hand, still preserved on one of them, was open and raised in front, a gesture which may indicate either greeting or rejoicing. The physical type of the Erotes is similar to that of the other figures, but with infantile proportions. They are set in pairs facing one another and are not trumpeting to the four corners of heaven. They therefore cannot be wind-gods, as Lamer thought,—in any case wind-gods are usually depicted as men. We must rather see in them youthful heralds of the Dragon-god.

The inscribed encircling band (fig. 6) is interrupted in four places by the Erotes, and these further conceal some of the letters. This defect is explained if again we assume a metal prototype, on which the Erotes had been soldered afterwards.

In the decorative uncial script most letters have their customary form; we may note, however, the forms of θ, κ, μ, σ, υ, φ.<sup>5</sup> Few ligatures are employed; once a horizontal stroke indicates the continuity of two words wrongly separated by an Eros. There are not a few blunders, which are

<sup>4</sup> J. Heckenbach, *de nuditate sacra sacrisque vinculis*, *RGVV*, ix, 3, 13 (Aristophanes, *Nubes* 498).

<sup>5</sup> On the form of the μ cf. Boeckh's remarks on the late inscr. from Smyrna, *CIG.* 3157, 3285, 3386.



easily explained as due to faulty and careless copying of the inscription on the metal prototype. In ἀπείρου of A and κόσμο of B we have ου for ο and, the reverse, ο for ου. The blunder τηλεπρον for τηλεπόρου is not an acoustic error, since it is precisely the accented vowel which is the letter omitted; perhaps on the prototype the ο was written small within the π.<sup>6</sup> The text runs as follows; omissions are supplied in brackets ( ) and E indicates



FIG. 4.—FIGURES FROM THE INTERIOR.

the position of an Eros; the invocation θεοί marks the beginning, as is common in Greek religious inscriptions;<sup>7</sup>

- (A) Θεοί· οὐνεκα δινεῖ(ται) κατ' ἀπείρου(ν)α μακρόν—E Ὀλυμπου
- (B) ἀγλαέ Ζεῦ, κόσμο(ν) γεννητο(ρ) E
- (C) κέκλυθι τηλεπ(ό)ρου δίνης ἑλικαυγέα κύκ(λον) E
- (D) οὐρανός τε γαῖά τε ἦν μορφή μία E.

A is a line from an Orphic hymn from which Macrobius<sup>8</sup> quotes a

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Larfeld, *Gri. Epig.* 276.

<sup>7</sup> Larfeld, 306 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Saturnalia* I, c. 18, 12. O. Kern, *Orphicorum fragmenta*, frg. 237.



passage of nine lines with the words *Orpheus quoque, solem volens intelligi, ait inter cetera*. . . . As he rightly saw, the poem celebrates the Sun-god to whom men have also applied the names of Phanes, Eubouleus, Antaiges, and Dionysos:

Διώνυσος δ' ἐπεκλήθη,  
οὐνεκα δινεῖται κατ' ἀπείρονα μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον.<sup>9</sup>

Further, Dionysos (the Sun) is so named ἀπὸ τοῦ δινεῖσθαι καὶ περιφέρεισθαι, *id est quod circumferatur in ambitum*. Compare Macr. I. 18, 18: *Solem Liberum esse manifeste pronuntiat Orpheus hoc versu* (frg. 239 Kern):

Ἥλιος ὃν Δίονυσον ἐπικλήσιν καλέουσιν.

The Oriental doctrine, promulgated in A, B, and C, that the Sun is the creative and actuating Spirit in the Universe, was current over the Roman Empire in the last days of heathendom.<sup>10</sup> Macrobius was writing towards the end of the fourth century. If all the Orphic verses in his first book were taken by him from a work of Cornelius Labeo, as there is reason to suppose, then they would be probably at least a century older. From its literary form frg. 237 cannot be dated; there is no reason to think it later than the Orphic poem from which Diodorus (I. 11, 3) cites the verse:

τοῦνεκά μιν καλέουσι Φάνητά τε καὶ Δίονυσον.

B recalls forcibly lines 3 and 4 of the Orphic fragment we shall discuss under C. Possibly we have here the beginning of a hymn which has not come down to us. In any case, comparison of the two fragments makes clear that under the προσωνομῖα 'ἀγλαῖ Ζεῦ' Helios here again is meant.

C is the opening of an Orphic hymn of which Macrobius (*Saturnalia* I, 23, 22; frg. 236 Kern) cites the first four lines as proof that the Sun is the true divinity of the Orphics: *Solem esse omnia et Orpheus testatur his versibus*:

κέκλυθι τηλεπόρου δίνης ἑλίκαιγέα κύκλον  
οὐρανίαις τροφάλιγξι περιδρομον αἰὲν ἑλίσσω,  
ἀγλαῖ Ζεῦ, Διόνυσε, πάτερ πάντου, πάτερ αἴης,  
Ἥλιε παγγένετορ, πάνταίολε, χρυσεοφειγγές.

The fragment gives the impression of being roughly contemporary with the surviving collection of the Orphic Hymns. These were probably composed in the third or fourth century after Christ; at least L. van Liempt has shewn<sup>11</sup> that the vocabulary of the Hymns resembles that of many works admittedly composed in that age. The neglect of position in ἀγλαῖ Ζεῦ may be an indication of that period.

D comes from a monologue of the Μελανίππη ἡ σοφὴ of Euripides (frg. 484 Nauck) which was very famous in the ancient world.<sup>12</sup> Melanippe relates briefly the Orphic teaching of the creation of the world from the World-Egg which opened and formed the vault of heaven from the top of

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Hymni Orphici* vi, 1: Πρωτόγονον αἰθερό-  
πλαγκτος, αὐτὸς δὲ Πάντη βιουθῆς περὶ γυναι μετὰ  
ῥομον.

<sup>10</sup> Cumont, *Mém. Miss. arch. de Perse*, xx, 173.

<sup>11</sup> *De vocabulario hymn. Orph. et ætate*, Utrecht, 1930.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, 463 f.: 'The  
priceless fragment of the *Melanippe*.'



its shell, while the earth grew from the bottom.<sup>13</sup> Diodorus (I, 7), in a passage quoted *verbatim* by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* p. 20 D), assigns this teaching to those who first taught mankind a reverence for the Divine (οἱ πρῶτον καταδείξαντες τιμᾶν τὸ Θεῖον); he finds it again in Anaxagoras, and Euripides again, he says, who was a pupil of Anaxagoras, put it into the mouth of Melanippe. The quotation then follows. According to Philodemos (*Orph.* frg. 30 Kern), Cleanthes and Chrysippos had previously compared Orphic texts with Euripidean passages. The four verses are obviously favourite and admired passages from the sacred hymns sung at the worship of Orphic communities.

In a detailed interpretation of the decoration of the bowl we may



FIG. 5.—AN EROS.

conclude from the inscriptions that the dragon must be the Orphic deity of many names frequently mentioned in the verses, who is here depicted in the midst of his worshippers. That Phanes did possess dragon form is proved by the sneer of the apologist Athenagoras (*pro Christianis* 20; frg. 58 Kern): καὶ τίς ἂν ἄνθρωπος . . . τὸν Φάνητα δέξαιτο ἢ σῶμα ἢ σχῆμα ἔχειν δράκοντος;

Again, in the omphalos we are perhaps to recognise the Egg from which Phanes sprang. The rayed wreath can be identified with certainty as a representation of the Sun whose light, according to the Orphics, radiated from Phanes.<sup>14</sup> From earliest times in the Orient and Europe

<sup>13</sup> From the World-Egg sprang also Phanes or Protogenos, who is accordingly named φαγενής (*Hymni Orph.* VI, 2).

<sup>14</sup> *Orphis* frg. 86 (Kern), φάγος δάκτυλος τοῦ ἀπὸ σπέρματος χροὸς ἀθανάτου Φάνητος. Frg. 87, λαμπρὸς ὄγων φάος ἀγνόν, ἀπ' οὗ σὺ Φάνητα κολήσῃς.



the Sun-disk has been depicted in the form of an open flower; some examples are given in fig. 7.<sup>15</sup> An especially close parallel is the Sun-flower on the lintel of the Temple of Sîa in the Hauran, dated between 37 and 32 B.C.

The date of the bowl can only be determined within wide limits—third to sixth century after Christ, for its historical place in art cannot be fixed at the moment; the bowl is an isolated phenomenon and defies classification. Later than Justinian we can hardly go, for it is unlikely that Orphic congregations continued to exist at a later date. On the other hand, the Orphic poem from which verse C is taken cannot well be earlier, as we have seen, than the third century of our era. We cannot argue from the similarity of arcading on the interior of a silver cup of Constantius II in Leningrad,<sup>16</sup> for the motive is common from the third century onwards as a border for mosaics, in architecture, and in *Kleinkunst*. The forms of the letters might theoretically provide a means of dating, but this method can only be used with caution while so few late inscriptions are published in photographs or good drawings. It may be chance that analogies seem to be most frequent in North and Central Syria, where similar uncial script with even-spaced letters is fairly common exactly between the third and sixth centuries;<sup>17</sup> but there are other reasons for assigning the bowl to this area.

The tolerably correct orthography of the verses—its few errors are not Latinisms—and the pure Greek lettering, uninfluenced by the Latin alphabet, suggest the Eastern Empire. Within the Eastern Empire, the Greek areas in the narrower sense of the word are excluded by reason of the heavy style, and, especially, the unclassical feeling of the arcade. Egypt, Syria, and Anatolia remain. A certain general resemblance to Coptic bronze work may be noted, but the human type is not Egyptian; it compares more closely with several ivories which may be assigned, in my opinion for good reason, to Syria or inner Asia Minor; e.g. the Andrews Diptych.<sup>18</sup> Again, thick smooth columns are particularly frequent in late times over the Syro-Anatolian area;<sup>19</sup> so the resemblance of the lettering we have noted to inscriptions from Syria may not after all be accidental. In Syria or in Asia Minor we perhaps should place the home of the Orphic community who may have deposited the alabaster bowl, perhaps as a votive offering, in their chapel.

The special importance of the bowl lies in the fact that it is, so far as we know, the only representation of a cult-scene, a *δρώμενον*, from the jealously-concealed Orphic mysteries.<sup>20</sup> At some future date it may become a significant piece in the history of the art of the Syro-Anatolian background. In the whole circle of Greek culture there is scarcely another

<sup>15</sup> Cf. further Couteau, *Mon. d'arch. orient.* II, 805, fig. 563; Evans, *P&M.* I, 470, fig. 342 b, 479, 3; fig. 343; 514, fig. 371; Hogarth, *JHS*, 1902, 334, pl. 12; Reisinger, *Kret. Vasemm.* T. 2, 13 (interpretation incorrect).

<sup>16</sup> Matzulewitsch, *Byz. Ant.* T. 24.

<sup>17</sup> E.g. *Princeton Exped. to Syria*, III, n. 763, 765

(Kanawat, Leathen); 813 (A.D. 605); 842 (A.D. 508/9), etc.

<sup>18</sup> Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, N 70.

<sup>19</sup> E.g. Perrot and Chipiez, IV, 687; V, 200.

<sup>20</sup> Firmicus Maternus, *de err. pr. rel.* 18, 1.—*Real-Enzyklopädie*, s.v. *Mysterien*, 1324 (Th. Hopfner).



instance of sacred texts on a vessel, and therefore we can only guess at the purpose of the verses. We may perhaps consider them as passwords in use among the faithful.<sup>21</sup>

The technical observations which occupy the remainder of the paper supplement in some measure the description already given, and in conjunction with them set the antique origin of the bowl beyond doubt. For the chemical and microscopical investigations the kind help of Dr. Chudoba, Privatdozent of Mineralogy at Bonn, is acknowledged. The



FIG. 5.—THE INSCRIPTION.

examination under the ultra-violet lamp followed the methods described by Rorimer.<sup>22</sup>

The alabaster of the bowl is snow-white and slightly crystalline at fresh breaks (fig. 8). Grey veins run through the mass. There are many cracks, sometimes so fine as to be visible only with strong magnification. The source of this alabaster cannot be determined. A stone which to the lay eye appears externally to be entirely identical is found in early Byzantine capitals in the Louvre from Rusafa in Syria; nothing so close seems to occur in Egyptian or Mesopotamian alabasters.

After long and repeated examination what remains of the ancient polychromy can be stated with certainty. A light purple appears on the omphalos, perhaps also between the figures on the interior, certainly in some of the arcades on the exterior. Under the ultra-violet lamp the purple patches give a clear difference of tone. On the figures are small

<sup>21</sup> *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. *Mysterien* 1279 ff. <sup>22</sup> J. R. Rorimer, *Ultra-violet Rays* (New York, 1931). (O. Kern).



traces of black paint: on the eyelashes, between the lips, on the edges of the hair, on the whole of the hair of two of the Erotes, between the fingers, and on the pubes of some of the men. Under the microscope the black colouring is shown to be charcoal. Lastly, the scales of the dragon are hollowed at their inner angles, and the holes filled with a fine compact yellow-white substance, which burns without ash and must therefore be made of wax or some similar material. Possibly this filling served as the ground for a colour, or perhaps gold leaf, but no trace of this can be detected.

The surface is now weathered to a yellow-grey, and seems more homogeneous than the interior; on the base the weathering is markedly less. In the fresh break on the shoulder of one of the Erotes the ultra-violet lamp reveals the weathered-layer as about half a millimetre in thickness and of fatty structure. Similarly weathered edges run along the cracks; the cracks assist percolation of water and therefore promote weathering. From the amount of weathering it is clear that the bowl has

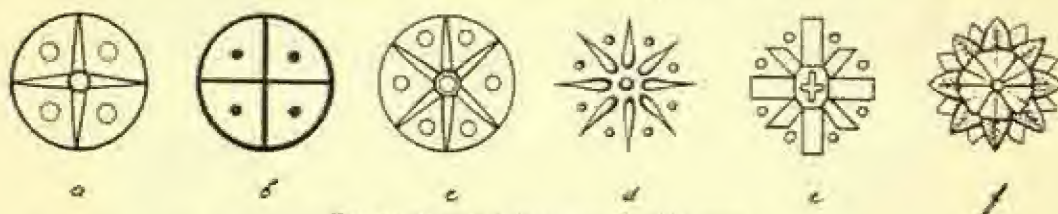


FIG. 7.—THE SUN DEPICTED AS A FLOWER.

- a = wheel-shaped textile pattern, from the coat of Adad; Babylonian, c. 750 B.C.—Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, 36, fig. 1275.  
 b = sun wheel: Greek Geometric—*Tyrus*, I, pl. 18; *AM.* 1903, Beilage 32, 3. Gaulish—Macdonald, *Historical Collection*, III, pl. 101, 36.  
 c = same as a.  
 d = coin of Itanus—*BM. Coins, Crete*, pl. 12, 7.  
 e = Coptic textile pattern—*V. and A. Mus. Cat. Textiles from Egypt*, II, pl. 3, 308.  
 f = lintel decoration from temple at Sia (Hauran), 37–32 B.C.—H. C. Butler, *Syria*, II, A 6, 374 ff. Dating—de Vogüé, *Syria Centrale, Architecture*, I, pl. 3, Dussaud, *RA.* 1903, I, 141, fig. 2.

long been exposed to the action of the atmosphere and perhaps of damp—a period of several centuries, in the considered opinion of mineralogical colleagues who have been consulted. On old Egyptian alabaster vessels which were examined for comparison the weathered layer was very similar, but no thicker.

On the interior of the bowl and in a smaller degree on the exterior are everywhere traces of scale, a brown, very adhesive substance composed of iron oxide and particles of quartz with no other cementing component. No method seems to be known whereby this scale may be produced artificially without the use of an agglutinant. Some traces of gelatine remain from moulding the bowl; they show up whitish-blue under the ultra-violet lamp.

The authenticity of the bowl has been thus emphasised because it has been compared with a group of South Russian forgeries of alabaster objects which reached Germany between 1910 and 1920;<sup>23</sup> they are rather crude and vulgar things.

<sup>23</sup> E.g. Lehner, *Germania*, 1928, 117 ff., with illustrations and references.



If we now summarise the reasons evoked during this discussion for considering the bowl to be antique, it will be seen that they are of decisive weight:

1. The bowl is made freehand and hence has a very irregular shape. A forger would have worked more accurately.
2. The surface is partly polished, partly dull (in the areas where it bore



FIG. 8.—FRESH BREAK ON ARM OF AN EROS, ENLARGED.

colouring). For a forger, who did not intend to paint the cup, the difference would be meaningless.

3. The addition of the slight and concealed traces of polychromy would have been purposeless for a forger.

4. The weathered layer visible in ultra-violet light indicates that the bowl has been in existence for a very long time.

5. The scale on the surface is of natural origin.

6. For the whole bowl, and for its details, no prototypes are known which a forger could have used.

*Bonn,  
Utrecht.*

R. DELBRUECK.  
W. VOLLGRAFF.



## GREEK INSCRIPTIONS AT CAIRNESS HOUSE

[PLATE VI.]

PROFESSOR J. D. BEAZLEY recently discussed in this *Journal* (xlix. 1 ff.) a fifth-century Attic relief now preserved in Cairness House, Lonmay, Aberdeenshire. He appended a short account, partly from the pen of Colonel C. T. Gordon, of General Thomas Gordon (1788-1841), who brought to this country that relief and various other antiquities, and of the dispersion of the collection in 1850. The relief, however, remained at Cairness, together with two inscribed stelae,<sup>1</sup> one of which has not been published hitherto, while the other has been regarded as lost. These form the subject of the present article.

My warm thanks are due to the late Professor J. Harrower for calling my attention to the inscriptions and supplying me with excellent photographs of them, as also to Colonel Gordon for granting me permission to publish them and for his hospitality at Cairness, where he kindly gave me every facility for examining the stones with a view to verifying and completing the texts I had already deciphered from the photographs.

### I

#### AN UNPUBLISHED DECREE OF A DELIAN ASSOCIATION

The inscription is engraved on a stele of bluish-grey marble, 3 ft. 7½ in. high, 1 ft. 4¼ in. broad at the top, increasing to 1 ft. 5¾ in. at the foot, 3½ in. thick at the top and 4 in. at the foot. At the top of the obverse was a moulding, which has been carelessly hacked away, as has also the inscribed surface at the left-hand upper corner. Otherwise the surface is, in general, well preserved, save for a deep hole which has destroyed a few letters of ll. 71-77, some wearing of the left-hand margin, slight breaks here and there on the right-hand edge and more serious damage at the foot, affecting ll. 88-93. The top surface of the stone has been left rough. The stele has seemingly been at some time turned on its back and re-used for some purpose. At both ends the reverse is left rough and in it two dowel-holes have been sunk, 4 in. in length, 1 in breadth and about 1½ in depth, near to the top and the bottom edge respectively. The central portion of the reverse surface has been rendered very smooth by continued friction, and near its centre two small circular holes have been cut, apparently for the reception of bolts (Pl. VI).

On the obverse face the writing begins 2½ inches below the top of the stone. The engraver has done his work carelessly and irregularly: some

<sup>1</sup> *JHS.* xlix. 4.



of his errors are mentioned in the Textual Notes which follow, others in the commentary. Some of them he himself rectified by erasing what had been wrongly written and inscribing in its place the correct text: such erasures are obvious, e.g. in ll. 5, 8, 47, 59, 85, 88. The letters are normally about  $\frac{1}{16}$  in. in height; the free ends of straight strokes are sometimes thickened, but there are no true serifs or *apices*. The forms used are Α Ε (with short central cross-bar) Ζ Μ (with the first and fourth strokes almost vertical) Ξ (with short central stroke) Π (with the horizontal bar extending beyond the vertical strokes) Σ (with first and fourth strokes almost, or even quite, horizontal) Φ (with very small circle and vertical stroke hardly higher than other letters) Ω: Ο and Ο are somewhat smaller than the remaining letters.

Noteworthy forms of words are: γίνομαι (ll. 47, 54), ἔνακεν (ll. 30, 40, 43), θάλαττα (l. 64), Μάρκος (*passim*), μηδεις (l. 19) side by side with μηεις (l. 58), πρόστοον (l. 25). A marked feature of the spelling is the inconsistency shown in the insertion or omission of the 'iota subscript.' In the dative singular of the first or second declension it is expressed 52 times and omitted 13 times, while in the third person singular of the active subjunctive it is inserted thrice and omitted five times. Once it is redundantly inserted (ἐξέστωι, l. 58). The inconsistency is clearly seen in phrases like τύχη τῇ ἀγαθῇ (ll. 44, 46), τῇ ἀρᾷ (l. 82).

The text, so far as I have been able to read and to restore it, runs thus:—

- [Ἀγαθῇ τύχη. Ἐπὶ - - ἀρχοντος. Γνώμη τοῦ ἐν Δῆλ]ωι κοινού Βηρυτίων  
Προσ[ειδω]-  
[νιαστῶν ἐμπόρων]ν καὶ ναυκλήρων [καὶ ἐ]γδοχέων. Ἐπειδὴ, προσδεομένης τῆς  
συ-  
[νόδου πόρων εἰς τ]ήν συντέλειαν τοῦ οἴκου καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀπόδοσι(ν) τῶν αὐτῶι  
εὐχρηστημ[ε]-  
[νων χρημάτων, ἵνα μ]ὴ μόνον τὰ ψηφισθέντα λαμβάνη τὴν καθήκουσαν  
συντέλειαν  
5 [ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι], τὸ τῆς συνόδου θεωροῦντες εὐσυνάλλακτον, μὴ ὀκνηρῶς  
ἐχωσι  
[εἰς τὰ συμφέρ]οντα τοῖς κοινοῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιδιδόναι, ν. Μάρκος Μινάτιος Σέξ-  
[του Ῥωμαῖος], ἀνὴρ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς ὑπάρχων καὶ τὰ τε πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐ-  
[σεβῶς δια]κείμενος καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν σύνοδον φιλοδόξως, καὶ ἰδία καὶ κοινεῖ  
φιλ[ο]-  
[δοξεῖ ὁ]πως ἡ πρόθεσις συντηρηθῇ τοῦ κοινού καὶ κατὰ τὰ προεψηφισμέν[α]  
10 [συντε]λεσθῇ ὁ οἶκος καὶ τὸν τε τόκον ἐπέδωκεν πολὺν κα[1] συνηγμέν-  
[ου ο]ῦ προευχρήστη(σ)εν διαφόρου τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ τεμέ-  
γους χειροτονηθε[ῖ]σιν, ὧν δὲ ἀκόλουθος ἑαυτῶι καὶ ἐπίδοσιν ἐπ[οι]-  
[ή]σατο τῶι κοινῶι δραχμῶν ἑπτακισχιλίων, ἐτι δὲ καὶ παρακέ-  
[κ]ληκὲν ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν, ἣν παρεσκεύασ-  
15 ται τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτελεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς συνόδου καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστ[ία]-  
σιν, ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ καὶ εἰς (υς) τὸ λοιπὸν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐχ[ων]  
αἵρεσιν αἰετίνος ἀγαθοῦ παραίτιος ἔσεσθαι τῶι κοινῶι· ὅπω[ς]  
[ο]ῦν καὶ ἡ σύνοδος φαίνεται τιμῶσα τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἀνδ-  
[ρ]ῶν καὶ μηδέποτε λειπομένη κατὰ μηδέν[α κ]αίρῳ ἐν χά-



- 20 [ρ]ιτος ἀποδόσει, ἢ ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, δεδόχθαι τῷ κοινῷ ἐπαιν[ε]-  
[σ]αι Μάαρκον Μινάτιον Σέξτου Ῥωμαῖον καὶ τὴν τε ἐπαγ-  
[γ]ελίαν, ἣν πεποιήται φιλοδοξῶν εἰς τὸ κοινόν, φιλοφρόνω[ς]  
[ἀ]ποδέξασθαι· δεδόσθαι δ' αὐτῷ τόπον ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ, ὃν (ἂν) αὐ-  
[τ]ὸς βούληται, εἰς ἀνάθεσιν ἀνδριάντος, ἡ ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ, ὧ[ι]
- 25 [ἀ]ν αὐτὸς κρίνῃ, ἐκτὸς τῶν ναῶν καὶ τῶν προστόων, καὶ ἐν τῷ [ιε]-  
[ρ]ῳ τόπῳ, ὃν ἂν αὐτὸς θελῇ, (μ) εἰς ἀνάθεσιν γραπτῆς εἰ-  
κόνης· ἐπιγραφῆσεται δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος "Τὸ κοινὸν Βηρυτ[ι]-  
ων Ποσειδωνιαστῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐγδοχέων  
ἀνέθηκεν Μάαρκον Μινάτιον Σέξτου Ῥωμαῖον τραπεζίτη-
- 30 [ν] τὸν ἑαυτῶν εὐεργέτην ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ ε[ὕ]νοιας, ἥς ἔχω[ν]  
[δ]ιετέλει εἰς τὸ [κ]οινόν." Ἔσται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γραπτῆς εἰκόνης ἡ αὐτὴ  
[ἐ]πιγραφὴ. Ὑπαρχέτω δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ κλισία ἐμ μὲν τοῖς Ποσιδεῖοις  
μετὰ τὴν τοῦ θύτου, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις συνόδοις πάσαις πρω-  
τοκλισία. Ἀγέσθω δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡμέρα καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν μ[ε]-
- 35 τὰ τὴν πομπὴν τῶν Ἀπολλωνείων τῇ ἐχομένη ἡμέρᾳ, κ[αί]  
ἐν ταύτῃ ἐπικλήτους ἀγέτω δύο, οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς βούληται, ἐπι-  
τιθεμένου δ' αὐτῷ χρυσοῦ στεφάνου, ὧι στεφάνωσεν τὴν σύ-  
νοδον, ἐμ μὲν τοῖς Ποσιδεῖοις ἀναγορευθήτω "Τὸ κοινὸν στ[ε]-  
[φ]ανοῖ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ Μάαρκον Μινάτιον Σέξτου ἀρετῆς
- 40 [ἐ]νεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας, ἥς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τὸ κοινόν, τύχῃ τῇ ἀ-  
γαθῇ." ἔτι δὲ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἡμέρᾳ "Τὸ κοινὸν στεφανοῖ Μάαρκον  
Μινάτιον Σέξτου, ἀγ[ε]ι(ν) δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς (τ)  
τὸν αἰ χρόνον ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας, ἥς ἔχων διατε-  
λεῖ εἰς τὸ κοινόν, τύχῃ τῇ ἀγαθῇ." ἐν δὲ ταῖς κατὰ μῆνα συνό-
- 45 δοῖς "Τὸ κοινὸν στεφανοῖ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ Μάαρκον Μινάτιον Σέ[ξ]-  
[τ]ου, ὄντα εὐεργέτην τῆς συνόδου, τύ[χ]ῃ τῇ ἀγαθῇ." α(1) δὲ ἀναγ[ο]-  
[ρ]εῦσαι αἱ τῶν στεφάνων γινέσθωσαν μετὰ τὸν δῆμον. [Ἀγέ]-  
[τ]ω δὲ καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην πομπὴν ἐπικλήτων ἑνα. Ἔστω δὲ καὶ ἀλ[ε]-  
[τ]ούργητος πάσης ἀσχολίας καὶ δαπάνης πάσης. Ἀγέσθω δ' αὐτο[ῦ] κα[ι]-
- 50 [θ] ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς ἅπαντὰ τὸν χρόνον βοῦς ἐν τοῖς Ἀπολλω-  
γείοις τῇ πομπῇ, τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων τήνδε "Τὸ κοινὸν Βηρυτίων  
[Πο]σειδωνιαστῶν ὑπὲρ Μάαρκου Μινάτιου τοῦ Σέξτου." Ὅπως δὲ τὰ δεδω-  
μένα τίμια παρὰ τῆς συνόδου Μάαρκῳ διαμένη κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον εἰς  
πάντα τὸν χρόνον καὶ γίνωνται πολλοὶ ζηλωταὶ τοῦ φιλοδοξεῖν εἰς τῇ[ν]
- 55 σύνοδον, εἰδότες αὐτὴν εὐχρηστον οὔσαν καὶ μὴ μόνον ψηφισμέν[η]ν  
[τ]οῖς εὐεργέταις τὰς [κα]θηκούσας τιμὰς, ἀλλὰ σπεύδουσιν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀ-  
[ν]αγκαϊότατον, ὅπως ἂν αἰδιοὶ διαμένωσι τοῖς εὐεργέταις αἱ δοθεῖσαι τι-  
[μ]αί, μὴ ἐνὶ ἐξέστωι, μήτε ἰδιώτῃ μήτε ἀρχοντι, μήτε εἰπεῖν μήτ[ε]  
[γ]ράψαι ὥς δεῖ τῶν δεδομένων τιμῶν μεταθεῖναι ἢ ἀφελεῖν ἢ ἀκυρ[όν]
- 60 [τ]ι ποιῆσαι παρὰ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα, ἢ ὁ γράψας ἢ ὁ εἰπας ἢ ὁ ἀναγνο[ύς]  
[ἦ] ὁ προθεῖς ἢ ὁ ἐπιχειροτονήσας ἢ ὁ γράψας ἢ ὁ προθεῖς ἐξώλης εἴη  
[α]ὐτὸς καὶ τὰ τέ[κν]α αὐτοῦ, τοῖς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιτηροῦσι εἴη καὶ βίου καὶ  
τέκνων καὶ ὑπαρχόντων ἀνησις, καὶ εἴη αὐτοῖς σώζεσθαι καὶ κατ[ά]  
[γ]ῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν· καὶ ὁ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσας ἀπιστινέτω
- 65 δραχμὰς στεφανηφόρους ἑξακισχιλίας ἱερὰς τοῦ Ποσειδῶ-  
νος καὶ ὑπόδικος ἔστω τῷ ἀδικουμένῳ· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀρχίθια-  
σίτης, ὃ ἂμ μὴ ποιήσῃ τῶν προστεταγμένων, ὀφειλέτω



- τὸ ἴσον ἐπιτίμιον καὶ ἔστω ὑπόδικος τῷ ἀδικουμένῳ. Τοῖς  
 δὲ προχειρισθεῖσι κατὰ τὸν νόμον βουτρόφοις διδόσθωσαν  
 70 παρά τῶν ἀεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ δυντῶν ἀργυροταμιῶν καὶ εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ  
 Μάαρκου πομπ[εύ]οντα βούν δραχμαὶ ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα,  
 διδόσθωσαν [δὲ τοῖς] αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν, ἣν ποιεί-  
 [τ]αι τὸ κοινὸν [ὑπὲρ Μ]αάρκου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν, ἅλλαι δραχμαὶ  
 [εἰ]κατὸν πεντή[κοντα]· οἱ δὲ β]ουτρόφοι λαβόντες τὸ προγεγραμμέ-  
 75 νον ἀργύριο[ν πομπ]ε[υ]έτωσαν βούν καὶ τὴν ἐστίαν ποιεί-  
 [σ]θώσαν κατ[ὰ τὸ ψή]φισμα, καὶ λόγον ἀποδότησαν γραπτὸν  
 ὧν ἂν χε[ι]ρίσω[σιν] ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ συλλόγῳ, ὅς ἂν γένηται με-  
 [τ]ὰ τὴν ὑποδοχὴν· ἂν δὲ τις τῶν χειροστηθέντων βουτρό-  
 [φ]ων μὴ ποιήσῃ τι τῶν προ(σ)τεταγμένων αὐτῷ, ὀφειλέτω δρα-  
 80 χμὰς ἱεράς τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος χιλίας καὶ ὑπόδικος ἔστω τῷ  
 ἀδικουμένῳ· οἱ δὲ μὴ ποιήσαντές τι τῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσ-  
 ματι κατακεχωρισμένων ἔστωσαν μὲν καὶ τῇ ἀρδί ἐνο-  
 χοί, προσαγγελλέτω δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁ βουλάμενος τῶν θιασ[ι]-  
 [τ]ῶν οἷς ἔξεστιν· ὁ δὲ ἀρχιθιαστίης ἀεὶ ὁ ἐν ἀρχ[ῇ] ὧ[ν] εἰσαγέτ[ω]  
 85 τὸν κατήγορον καὶ τὸν ἀπολογούμενον καὶ ἀναδιδότω ψῆφον  
 τοῖς θιασίταις . . ΕΝΑΔ[ . τοῦ εὐ]θυνόμενου ἔστω τῷ προσαγ-  
 γείλαντι, κομισαμένου τοῦ [αὐ]τοῦ τὸ τρίτον μέρος τοῦ εἰσ-  
 πραχθέντος· ἂν δὲ τι [ὁ ἀρχιθιασ]ίτης μὴ ποιήσῃ, ἔστω κατ' αὐ-  
 [τ]οῦ ἢ εἰσαγγελ[ία, ἐπειδὴν [διώτ]ης γένηται, κατὰ τὰ αὐτά· ἀνα-  
 90 [γρ]αφάτω δὲ ὁ ἀρχ[ιθιασίτης τὸ ψή]φισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ  
 [θέ]τω ἐν τῇ αὐ[τῇ] - - - - - τὸν ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Φαιδρίου ΕΛΛ.  
 . . . ΟΛΙΩΙ[ ] - - - - - τὸ δὲ εἰς] ταῦτα τέλεσμα δότωσαν οἱ  
 [ἐν ἀ]ρχῇ δυν[ε]ς ἀργυροταμίαι].

*Textual Notes.*—L. 1. See commentary.—Ll. 2/3. Possibly συ/νέδου should be read.  
 —L. 3. The final ν of ἀπόδωσαν is omitted. After τῶν I seem to see αὐτῷ, though  
 αὐτῇ is also possible: the latter would be grammatically correct, but the former might  
 be due to the use of κοινόν in l. 1.—L. 11. The engraver has written -τηZen διαφόροψ.—  
 L. 16. The engraver began to write ὅτιον instead of τὸ λοιπόν: after two letters he  
 realised his error, but did not erase them.—Ll. 19/20. Possibly χά[ρ]ιτος.—L. 23. ὅν has  
 been omitted: that it should have been inserted follows from its occurrence in ll. 23,  
 26, 36.—L. 26. I am uncertain whether θθη or θθη should be read: a space follows,  
 in which the engraver apparently wrote M.—Ll. 29/30. The break of the word τραπέζην  
 at the final ν is strange, but appears certain.—L. 31. I retain [δ]ιπλῆ, which is clear  
 on the stone, though it is hard to resist the conviction that [δ]ιατελεῖ was intended, as in  
 ll. 40, 43.—L. 32. I hesitate between ἐμ μὲν and ἐν μὲν.—L. 35. I am not sure whether  
 Ἀπολλωνεῖον (cf. l. 50) or Ἀπολλωνεῖον is written here.—L. 42. Ἄγειω has been engraved  
 instead of ἄγει: at the end of the line τ is written, but repeated at the beginning of  
 l. 43.—L. 46. The ι of αἱ has been accidentally omitted.—Ll. 60, 61. See commentary.—  
 Ll. 71/76. A hole in the stone has destroyed a few letters in each of these lines, but the  
 restorations proposed may, I think, be regarded as certain.—L. 79. The stone has  
 προτεταγμένων, which is not impossible; but I think that προστ- was intended, as in  
 l. 67.—Ll. 86, 89/93. See commentary.—L. 88. The engraver has written ποιῇσι instead  
 of -σσι, either by an orthographical error or forgetting that the clause is introduced not  
 by αἱ but by ἂν.

We have here the sole surviving decree of the Delian Society of Posei-  
 doniasts from Berytus (Beyrout) on the Phoenician coast. The existence  
 of this society has long been known and its history has been frequently



discussed upon the basis of the epigraphical and archaeological remains which constitute our sole evidence. In 1883 S. Reinach collected the known inscriptions relating to it (*BCH.* vii. 466 ff.) and described the architectural and sculptural finds made during his excavation of its club-house (*op. cit.* 462 ff.). A quarter of a century later fifteen fresh texts, discovered in 1904, were published by L. Bizard and P. Roussel (*BCH.* xxxi. 444 ff.), and the latter scholar in 1911 confirmed by new and cogent arguments the identification, previously advocated by Eckhel and Rouvier, of 'Laodicea in Phoenicia' with Berytus, thus throwing fresh light upon the Delian Berytians (*BCH.* xxxv. 433 ff.), and in 1916 gave a succinct but admirable account of the Society in his work *Délos colonie athénienne* (Paris, Fontemoing), 74, 90 ff. But the fullest and most detailed discussion is that by Ch. Picard, substantially completed in 1911 though not published until 1921 (*BCH.* xlv. 263-311), serving as an historical companion to his exhaustive report on the excavation of the group of buildings, lying on the hill north-west of the Sacred Lake, which composed the Poseidoniasts' establishment.<sup>2</sup> No fresh materials have, so far as I know, subsequently come to light, but W. A. Laidlaw has conveniently summarised our knowledge of the Society in his *History of Delos* (Oxford, 1933), 212-20.<sup>3</sup> The interest of these discoveries is well emphasised by Picard, who claims that 'nul édifice ancien, ni groupe d'édifices, n'est jusqu'ici connu par les fouilles, qui puisse être comparé précisément à celui des Poseidoniastes de Bérytos' (p. 267), and again that 'à ma connaissance, il n'a pas encore été découvert, ailleurs qu'à Délos, un établissement marchand qui soit en même temps un centre de cultes étrangers, et dont on puisse tout à la fois, sur le terrain, reconstituer le local, et, par les inscriptions, restituer plus ou moins l'histoire' (p. 264). Our knowledge of this important society is substantially enriched by the present decree,<sup>4</sup> which therefore calls for a somewhat detailed commentary.

The full official title of the Association is τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐν Ἀήλῳ Βηρυτίων Ποσειδωνιαστῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐγδοχέων, and this, with the omission of the unnecessary phrase τῶν ἐν Ἀήλῳ, is used in l. 27 of our decree (for l. 1 see commentary); in l. 51 the shorter title τὸ κοινὸν Βηρυτίων Ποσειδωνιαστῶν occurs, while elsewhere in the document the generic term κοινὸν appears twelve times and the more specific σύνοδος nine times. The members, however, are called θιασίται (ll. 83, 86), not συνοδίται, and its President is entitled ἀρχιθιασίτης (ll. 66, 84, 88, 90).<sup>5</sup> A totally

<sup>2</sup> *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, VI. (Paris, Boccard, 1921). Cf. Roussel, *op. cit.* 214, 223, 287, 305, 329, *BCH.* xxx. 610 ff., Laidlaw, *History of Delos*, 236 f., 284 f., Durrbach, *Choix*, pp. 198 f., W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 391.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also V. von Schoeffler, *RE.* iv. 2495, F. Durrbach, *Choix des inscriptions de Délos*, Nos. 72, 118, 119, P. Roussel, *Délos* (Paris, 1925), 17. The Poseidoniasts make a frequent appearance in the standard works on the Greek associations, E. Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen* (Leipzig, 1896), and E. Polak, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*

(Leipzig, 1909), and are discussed in Ziebarth's recent work *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Seeraubs und Seehandels* (Hamburg, 1929), 93 ff.: cf. *Bos.* cxclii. 74.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. E. Ziebarth, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Seeraubs*, 95: Von der Verfassung der Berytler kennen wir wenig, da nicht einmal ein Dekret von ihnen erhalten ist.

<sup>5</sup> Thus Picard's statement (*op. cit.* 271), 'On notera que la communauté marchande de Bérytos, bien qu'administrée par un ἀρχιθιασίτης, ne prend pas le nom de θίαση: elle est toujours désignée sous le nom de κοινόν', must be modified



distinct society is that of the Italian Ποσειδωνιασταί resident at Delos, who usually combined in common action with the Ἑρμαῖσταί and the Ἀπολλωνιασταί,<sup>6</sup> while the Delian κοινὸν τῶν Τυρίων Ἱερὰ κλειστῶν also accorded to Poseidon a subsidiary cult,<sup>7</sup> and other associations for the worship of Poseidon, alone or in conjunction with other divinities, meet us at Thasos and in the great trading centre of Rhodes.<sup>8</sup>

The Tyrian association mentioned above consisted only of ἔμποροι καὶ ναύκληροι, while those Berytians who, between 187 and 175 B.C., erected a statue of Heliodorus, the minister and later the murderer of Seleucus IV, describe themselves as οἱ ἐν Λα[οδικείᾳ] τῇ ἐν Φοινίκῃ ἐγδοχεῖς καὶ να[ύκληροι] (*Choix*, 72). The Berytian Poseidoniasts, on the other hand, always use the triple designation ἔμποροι καὶ ναύκληροι καὶ ἐγδοχεῖς, which has been fully discussed by Picard.<sup>9</sup>

The first paragraph of the decree states its occasion and its purpose.

(Ll. 1-20.) [*To good fortune. In the archonship of ——. Resolution of the Delian Society of Worshipers of Poseidon from Berytus, merchants and shippers and warehousemen. Inasmuch as, when the Association required funds for the completion of the chapel and for the repayment of the moneys which had been lent to it, in order that not only the resolutions passed may receive their due completion but that the others also, in view of the fair dealing of the Association, may not be hesitant to give themselves up to the interests of their societies, Marcus Minatius, son of Sextus, a Roman, being a good man and true, piously disposed towards the gods and inspired by a love of glory in his dealings with the Association, both individually and corporately, seeks glory by securing that the purpose of the Society may be safeguarded and that the chapel may be completed in accordance with the resolutions previously passed, and contributed the interest to a large amount and, after collecting the sum which he advanced as a loan, (gave this) to those who were elected to carry out the construction of the precinct, and, being consistent with himself, also made to the Society a contribution of 7000 drachmas, and has further invited us all to the sacrifice, which he has prepared to discharge to the gods on behalf of the Association, and to the banquet, and promises that for the future also, maintaining the same attitude, he will always be responsible for some good to the Society; in order, therefore, that the Association too may make it clear that it honours those who are men of worth and never fails on any occasion in the rendering of thanks, etc.*]

How the decree opened I cannot determine with certainty. There may possibly have been some phrase—e.g. ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ or a date-formula—on the moulding at the top: if so, it perished when the moulding was hacked away, and the left-hand portion of l. 1 also suffered irreparable damage at the same time. I can be sure only of κοινὸ followed by one letter, of which the existing vestiges suggest Υ, and preceded by Ι, before

so far as the last clause is concerned. I omit from the reckoning the two passages (ll. 33, 44) in which σύνθετος, like σύλλογος (l. 77), denotes 'meeting'. The term used in l. 6 for societies in general is κοινά. For the meaning of κοινόν see Poland, 163 ff.; E. Kornemann, *RE* Suppl. iv. 915 ff.; for σύνθετος, σύνθεσις, Poland, 158 ff., for θίασος, θιασώτης, θιασώτης, Poland, 16 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Roussel, *Délos col. ath.* 76 ff., 90 note 3, 274 f.,

Laidlaw, *op. cit.* 202 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Durrbach, *Choix*, 85 l. 39.

<sup>8</sup> Poland, 60, 194, *BCH* liii. 337 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *BCH* xlv. 272 ff. Cf. Poland, 107 ff., Stöckle, *RE* Suppl. iv. 157 ff., P. Jouguet, *Bull. Inst. Fr. Arch. Or.* xxxi. 12 ff., F. Oertel, *ZSav.* I. 371 ff., J. Haasebroek, *Trade and Politics in Ancient Greece*, 1 ff., E. Ziebarth, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Seerauberei*, 45 f.



which comes an O or Ω: of the traces of letters earlier in this line I can make nothing. If κοινού is the correct reading (and the dative κοινῶι, which we should antecedently expect in such a position, governed by ἔδοξε or δεδόχθαι, seems to be out of the question), the formula must, I think, be something like [Γνώμη (or ψήφισμα) τοῦ ἐν Δῆλῳ] κοινού, which can be paralleled in two decrees dating from about the middle of the second century B.C., one from Iasus, Γνώμη τοῦ κοινού τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυ[σον τεχ]νιτῶν . . . Ἐπειδὴ κτλ. (Michel, 1014), and one from Teos, Ψήφισμα Ἀτταλιστῶν. Γνώμη τοῦ κοινού τῶν Ἀτταλιστῶν. Ἐπειδὴ κτλ. (*OGI*. 326; cf. *IG*. ii<sup>2</sup>. 1350). Since this does not fill the line, we may suppose that it was preceded by a dating phrase, relating probably to the Athenian eponymous archon, with or without the ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ of which the Poseidoniasts seem to have been enamoured (ll. 20, 40, 44, 46). If this is so, the words preceding ἐπειδὴ (l. 2) constitute a title and not a portion of the actual decree: this, however, causes no difficulty, for, apart from the two examples just quoted, guild-decrees occasionally open with ἐπειδὴ (e.g. Michel, 993, 1011) and frequently with ἐπειδὴ preceded by the phrase ὁ δεινὰ εἶπεν (e.g. *IG*. ii<sup>2</sup>. 1256, 1258/9, 1264, 1272, 1279, 1285) or by the date and the proposer's name (e.g. *IG*. ii<sup>2</sup>. 1270, 1273, 1277, 1282/3, 1287): in the present case, the proposer's name must have been omitted, a not infrequent phenomenon in decrees of this class (e.g. *IG*. ii<sup>2</sup>. 1254, 1261, 1297, 1303/4, Michel, 1013/4, 1016/7, *OGI*. 326).<sup>10</sup>

Of the title of the Society and of the use of the terms κοινόν and σύνοδος I have already spoken. The restorations at the beginnings of ll. 2/11 are, I hope, substantially correct: χρημάτων is too long to replace πόρων in l. 3, but διαφόρων (cf. l. 11) might be written instead of χρημάτων in l. 4. In the same line I restore ἴνα as being shorter than ὅπως, which is used in ll. 9, 17, 52; a similar variation is not uncommon (e.g. *IG*. ii<sup>2</sup>. 1299. 17, 25, 37, 43).

The nature of the οἶκος (ll. 3, 10) which the Poseidoniasts are anxious to complete is not quite certain. The phrase οἶκος ναυκλήρων occurs in several documents from the Euxine area to denote a shippers' society,<sup>11</sup> and at Magnesia on the Maeander a guild of μύσται bears the title ὁ ἱερὸς οἶκος τῶν ἐν Κλίδωνι.<sup>12</sup> In our decree, however, the word clearly designates some part of that complex of buildings which formed the Poseidoniasts' establishment and reminds us of the inscription in which the Association dedicated, about 110/09 B.C., τὸν οἶκον καὶ τὴν στοάν καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια θεοῖς πατρίοις.<sup>13</sup> We cannot say whether the οἶκος mentioned in the Cairness decree is the same as that to which the dedication refers, nor yet whether it is one of the four chapels which have been brought to light by the excavation of the site.<sup>14</sup> The meaning of the words οἶκος and

<sup>10</sup> For the formulae of guild-decrees see Latfeld, *Handbuch*, i. 342 ff., ii. 618 ff.; *Gz. Epigr.* 420 ff.

<sup>11</sup> At Tomi (Waltzing, *Corp. prof.* iii. 78 f., Nos. 217 I, *IGRom.* i. 804), Nicomedia (*IGRom.* iii. 4) and Amastria (*BCH.* xxv. 36); cf. Poland, 114.

<sup>12</sup> *Inscr. v. Magn.* 117; cf. Poland, 83\*, 152, 541. Distinct from this usage of the word is that which appears in the phrase ὁ ἀσκλητῶν οἶκος (*SEG.* 921.

33, 42; see Wade-Gery's discussion in *CIGJ.* xxv. 131 ff.).

<sup>13</sup> Durrbach, *Choix*, No. 110. Poland's doubt (p. 462\*) about the reading is due to his having had before him only the first edition of the text.

<sup>14</sup> See the references given above in footnote 2, especially Durrbach, p. 198.



οἶκος in guild-inscriptions has been discussed in detail by Poland, 459 ff., who holds that οἶκος may denote meeting-place (*Versammlungshaus*) or treasury or chapel.<sup>15</sup>

The clause introduced by ἵνα (ll. 4/5) must be related to that which follows rather than to that which precedes, and serves to indicate the purpose which inspired Minatius' benefaction. Ψηφίζομαι, ψήφισμα (ll. 4, 9, 55, 60, 76, 81, 90) are freely used in decrees of societies as well as in those of states, side by side with δοκέω, δόγμα (l. 20):<sup>16</sup> with the phrase used in l. 4 we may compare *IG. ii<sup>2</sup>. 1301. 8* [ὅπως συντελεσθεῖ τὰ ψηφισμέ[να]. In the two lines which follow (5/6) we have a blend of common formulae—in the phrases ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι<sup>17</sup> and ἐαυτοὺς ἐπιδιδόναι<sup>18</sup>—with touches of originality, such as the substitution of the rare θεωροῦντες for the normal εἰδότες, the use of the term εὐσυνάλλακτος<sup>19</sup> and of the phrase ὀκνηρῶς ἔχειν<sup>20</sup> with an infinitive, and the curious turn by which Minatius' generosity is represented as designed to stimulate club-loyalty in general (τοῖς κοινοῖς, not τῷ κοινῷ)<sup>21</sup> rather than loyalty to the Poseidoniasts in particular.

To Marcus Minatius I can find no reference elsewhere: the *nomen gentilicium*, probably derived from the Oscan name Minatus (*RE. xv. 1765*), is a rare one, and does not appear in J. Hatzfeld's list of Italians whose presence in Delos is epigraphically attested.<sup>22</sup> To Hatzfeld's full and able account of the history, composition, activities and organisation of the

<sup>15</sup> For the meaning 'chapel' he cites *IG. vii. 2233. IBM. 813. BCH. v. 450* (= *IG. ix(1). 89*): we may add *IG. ii<sup>2</sup>. 2337. 32. SEG. 985. 5*. The recently discovered decrees of the Egyptian *εὐχρηστοί* refer to a sum devoted εἰς οἰκοδομὴν γυμνασίου καὶ οἴκου (*Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex. vii. 66 f., ll. 5, 21*; cf. 6, 9, 24), and an οἶκος also appears in a decree of the Amphiarastae at Rhamnus (*IG. ii<sup>2</sup>. 1322. 3*).

<sup>16</sup> See Poland, 335.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. e.g. *IG. ii<sup>2</sup>. 338. 22, 360. 64, 1252. 19, 1259. 7, 1278. 6, iv. 748. 16*.

<sup>18</sup> See Poland, 496\*\*, and especially A. Kuenzi, *Ἐπιδοῖς* (Berne, 1923), which contains a full discussion, historical and linguistic, of the ἐπιδοῖς of the Greek states, but does not extend its survey to those of the Greek associations. The object of ἐπιδιδόναι here (l. 6) and in a number of cases collected by Kuenzi, 60 f., and Larkfeld, *Handbuch*, i. 494 (= *Gr. Epigr.* 363), is ταυτὸν (-τήν - τοῦς), and the phrase is either used absolutely or followed by a simple infinitive or by εἰς or ἐπὶ governing a noun or τὸ with the infinitive. Similar to the present expression is *SEG. iii. 710. 5* (Methymna), ἐπιδιδόντες ταυτὸν εἰς τὰ συνήθη τὰ τοῦ δήμου. Other examples, taken from guild-records, are *IG. ii<sup>2</sup>. 1309a. 6* (Ak), 1326. 39 (Ak), 1328. 25 (absl.) and perhaps 1391. 13. In l. 10 of the Cairness decree we have ἐπιδοῖς τίσιν (for this special usage see Kuenzi, 61 f.) and the word is frequently followed by sums

of money (*IG. ii<sup>2</sup>. 1263. 18, 1277. 11, 1301. 6, 1322. 11, 1325. 22, 1326. 12, 15, SEG. i. 350B. iii. 121, BCH. xlvii. 373*) or other objects (*IG. ii<sup>2</sup>. 1297. 4*): elsewhere it is used absolutely (*IG. i<sup>2</sup>. 1301. 16, 1322. 12, 1328. 2*), as equivalent to ἐπιδοῖς (-εις) ποιῆσαι (Cairness decree, l. 12, *SEG. vi. 39. 18, vii. 74. 3*). The purposes of public ἐπιδοῖς are classified by Kuenzi (67 ff.) as (a) military needs, (b) public buildings, (c) religious objects, (d) corn supplies and (e) financial requirements: those of the associations are mainly for buildings and repairs, whether sacred or secular. Cf. L. Robert, *BCH. lvii. 503 ff.*, A. Wilhelm, *Ateliers Glets*, 809 ff.

<sup>19</sup> The adjective occurs also in Plutarch, *de audiendo*, 10, Ptol. *Tetrab.* 163, and Eustathius, *Opusc.* 2. 16 (ed. Tafel, 1832), and the adverb in *LXX. Prov. xxx. 10*, Origen, vii (*Patrol. Graeca*, xvii). 236 B, Hesychius, s.v. and Zonaras.

<sup>20</sup> I know no epigraphical parallel: in [Dem.] x. 28 we have πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀκνηρῶς διακρίσθαι and in Basil, *Epist. cίν. 1* (*Patrol. Graeca*, xxxii. 275 B), ὀκνηρῶς ἔχω πρὸς τὸ πιστεῖν.

<sup>21</sup> Quite different is the meaning of τὰ κοινὰ in *IGRom. iv. 293 ll. 3* [ἐπιδοῖς] καὶ ταῦτα τῇ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ ἀποδοῖ καὶ φιλοτιμίᾳ.

<sup>22</sup> *BCH. xxxvi. 5 ff.*, 218. Two sons of a certain Μάρκος are found in the list of contributors to a certain construction carried out by the Association (*BCH. xlv. 309*).



body of Italian residents at Delos I have nothing to add.<sup>23</sup> The repetition φιλοδόξως . . . φιλοδοξεῖ (ll. 8, 9) is inelegant, but I am confident that the verb, which recurs in l. 54, is rightly restored.<sup>24</sup> The phrase καὶ ἰδίοι καὶ κοινεῖ (l. 8), borrowed from the language of state decrees, occurs not infrequently in those of societies with reference to individual and corporate benefactions.<sup>25</sup> In l. 10 I restore [συντε]λεσθῆι ὁ οἶκος on the basis of the phrase τὴν συντέλειαν τοῦ οἴκου used in l. 3.

Loans might be made to a society without interest—e.g. *IG. ii*<sup>2</sup>. 1329. 16 προευχρήσθηκεν δὲ καὶ διάφορον πλεονάκις ἄτοκον (cf. *SEG. iv*. 473)—or, as in the present instance, a claim to interest might be waived. For ἐπέδωκεν (l. 10) see footnote 18 above: for the use and position of πολὺν we may compare *BCH. liii*. 340 τὴν τε δαπάνην ἐποίησατο ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου βίου πῶσαν οὖσαν οὐ μικράν. Συναγω is frequently used, as here, of collecting sums of money.<sup>26</sup> Any considerable work of construction or repair undertaken by a state or a society was normally supervised by an elected committee:<sup>27</sup> here the work in hand was the κατασκευὴ τοῦ τέμενους,<sup>28</sup> of which the οἶκος (ll. 3, 10) must have formed a part. It would thus appear that, at the time at which this decree was passed, the τέμενος of the Poseidoniasts had not yet been completed.<sup>29</sup>

Ἀκόλουθα πράττειν τοῖς νόμοις, τῇ αἵρέσει and similar phrases are not uncommon;<sup>30</sup> intermediate between these and that here used (l. 12) are *SIG. 620. 18* (Tenos) παρεχόμενος ἑαυτὸν . . . [ἀκόλουθον] τεῖ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αἵρέσει and *BCH. liii*. 339 (Thasian Poseidoniasts) ἀκόλουθος γινόμενος τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς, where, however, ἀκόλουθος is used substantivally and is followed by a genitive. For ἐπίδοσιν ἐπ[οίη]σατο (l. 12) see footnote 18. With l. 13 we may compare *IG. ii*<sup>2</sup>. 1299. 11 παρεκάλεσεν δὲ [καὶ τοῦ]ς πολίτας ἀπ[αντας] ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν; here the invitation to the sacrifice and the banquet (l. 15)<sup>31</sup> is confined to members of the Association, who curiously refer to themselves in the first person (ἡμᾶς, cf. Larfeld, *Gr. Epigr.*<sup>2</sup>. 404 f.).

<sup>23</sup> *BCH. xxvii*. 102 ff. Cf. P. Roussel, *Delos col. ath.* 75 ff., 272 ff., 329 f., W. A. Laidlaw, *History of Delos*, 208 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *IG. xii*(1). 1035. 7. Of the juxtaposition of εὐσεβεῖα to the gods and φιλοδοξία to a society another example occurs in *IG. xii*(3). 1270B 10 ff.

<sup>25</sup> See e.g. *IG. ii*<sup>2</sup>. 1263. 15, 1270. 8, 1272. 7, 1308. 11, 1309B 11, 1310. 5, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* vii. 66 (κατ' ἰδίον): in these cases κοινῇ precedes ἰδίω, but the order of the Cairnes decree is also that of *IG. ii*<sup>2</sup>. 1326. 7, xi. 1061. 11 (cf. ii<sup>2</sup>. 450. 13 ff., 844. 58, *SIG* 368. 4, 403. ff). That ἰδίω means 'in his relations with individuals' rather than 'in his individual capacity' is proved, I think, by the fuller expressions used in *IG. ii*<sup>2</sup>. 1304. 37 καὶ κοινῇ πᾶσιν ὑπαρχουσὶν καὶ ἰδίω ἑκάστου φροντίων, 1327. 6 καὶ κοινῇ τοῖς ὀργάνοις καὶ ἰδίω ἑκάστου ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῶν παρασκευάζων (cf. 1331. 3), and Durrbach, *Choix*, 85. 7 ff. κ[αὶ]νὴν τε τῇ συνόδῳ [ἡ]γῶν καὶ πράττων τὰ συμφέροντα, καὶ κατ' ἰδίον ἑκάστου ὑπαρχόντων καὶ.

<sup>26</sup> *IG. ii*<sup>2</sup>. 1028. 82, 1327. 14, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* vii. 67. Cf. *SIG*. 410. 14 [τῆς τῶν χρημᾶτων συνα-

γωγῆς, *IG. xii*(3). 1270A 11 πᾶς δὲ ἐπισυναγωγῆς τοῦ διαφόρου γινόμενος.

<sup>27</sup> Busolt, *Griech. Staatskunde*,<sup>3</sup> i. 627. The commissioners here referred to may have been entitled ἐπιμεληταί, like Soterichus, who ἀρετῆς ὁπ[ὸ] τῶν θιασόντων . . . ἐ[α]λ[ο]ῦς καὶ φιλοτίμως ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἴκου ἐπ[οίη]μαθηται τῆς οὐλοῦσας (*IG. ii*<sup>2</sup>. 1273. 5; cf. 1260. 17, 1260. 4).

<sup>28</sup> The phrase recurs *IG. ii*<sup>2</sup>. 1338. 22, 26 (cf. 10. 36), xii(7). 241. 13. In other guild-decrees a τέμενος is mentioned alone (1330. 25) or in conjunction with a τέρων (1332. 6), a ναὸς (1302. 7), or a βωμός (1338. 11). For the part played by these τὰμενα in the life of the guilds see Poland, 455 ff., 474.

<sup>29</sup> I take it that κατασκευὴ has its normal meaning of 'construction,' though it is claimed that the word is sometimes used instead of ἐπισκευή, 'repair' (E. Ziebarth, *Bes.* cxciii. 62).

<sup>30</sup> *IG. ii*<sup>2</sup>. 1099. 4, 54, 1302. 9, 1303. 7, *SEG. iv*. 230, 238, 396, *Sardis*, vii(1). 4. 5.

<sup>31</sup> For guild-ἐστίασις see Poland, 260; for the ἐστίασις as 'llurgy,' *RE. viii*. 1315.



The sacrifice is offered <sup>32</sup> τοῖς θεοῖς (l. 15)—perhaps to the πατρίοι θεοὶ of the Berytian Poseidoniasts, perhaps to a still wider circle—on behalf of, i.e. with the view of securing the divine favour for, the Association. A characteristic touch is the vague promise given by Minatius of further benefits to follow in the future (ll. 16, 17): ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι and ἐπαγγελία (ll. 16, 21) are regularly used in this sense <sup>33</sup> and the promise normally takes, as here, the form αἰεὶ τίνος ἀγαθοῦ παραίτιος ἔσεσθαι (γίνεσθαι).<sup>34</sup>

After setting forth the facts of Minatius' generosity, the decree proceeds (ll. 17-20) to state, in customary phraseology, the motives animating the Association—the desire to shew open honour to worthy men and to prove its gratitude by making an adequate return.<sup>35</sup>

We now turn to the substantive portion of the decree.

(ll. 20-52.) *With good fortune, the Society has resolved to praise Marcus Minatius, son of Sextus, of Rome, and cordially to welcome the offer which he has made, seeking distinction in his relations with the Society; and that a place be granted to him in the courtyard at his own desire for the dedication of a statue, or in any other place which he himself may select with the exception of the sanctuaries and the porticoes, and in the temple whatever place he himself may wish for the dedication of a painted portrait. And upon the statue shall be inscribed 'The Society of Worshippers of Poseidon from Berytus, merchants and shippers and warehousemen, dedicated Marcus Minatius, son of Sextus, of Rome, banker, their own benefactor, in recognition of his merit and of the good-will which he continually entertained towards the Society': and there shall be the same inscription upon the painted portrait also. And let him also have a seat at the Posidea next after that of the Sacrificer, and a front seat at all the other meetings. And let a day also be celebrated in his honour each year on the day next following the procession of the Apollonia, and on this let him bring two supernumerary guests whomsoever he himself may desire. And while a golden crown, wherewith he crowned the Association, is laid upon his head, let this proclamation be made at the Posidea, 'The Society crowns with a golden crown Marcus Minatius, son of Sextus, in recognition of his merit and of the good-will which he continually entertains towards the Society, with good fortune'; and again on his own day, 'The Society crowns Marcus Minatius, son of Sextus, and also celebrates in his honour a day, both now and for all time to come, in recognition of his merit and of the good-will which he continually entertains towards the Society, with good fortune'; and in the monthly meetings, 'The Society crowns with a golden crown Marcus Minatius, son of Sextus, who is a benefactor of the Association, with good fortune.' And let the proclamations of the crowns on each occasion take place after the people.*

<sup>32</sup> For guild-sacrifices see Poland, 31, 248, 255 ff., 390 ff.: add Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex. vii. 66. The verbs, other than θέναι and its compounds, usually employed in this connexion are, as here, ἰσχυρίζω (e.g. IG. ii<sup>2</sup>. 1338. 40, iv. 558. 12 = BCH. i. 498, SIG. 1068. 16, 1157. 31, OJh. xi. 103) and συντάττω (e.g. SIG. 1044. 27, 1106. 92, Rev. Phil. 1927, 123 f.).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Poland, 496\*. Kuenzi, op. cit. 59 f., L. Robert, BCH. liv. 366 f. Good examples are IG. ii<sup>2</sup>. 1299. 14, 1308. 13, 1318. 3, 1329. 17, 1339. 63, GDI. 3090. For ἐπαγγελία cf. SIG. 1116. 9, IG. xii(3). 1270A 11, 14. Εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν occurs, as here (l. 16), in li<sup>2</sup>, 1299. 71, [1308. 14], εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν in 1299. 15,

εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον in 1329. 18.

<sup>34</sup> E.g. IG. ii<sup>2</sup>. 783. 13, 1326. 7, 1330. 62, SIG. 591. 38, 611. 22, 700. 44, 800. 27, IG. xii(3). 1270A 6, GDI. 3090: cf. IGRom. iv. 993 li. 2, Larfield, Gr. Epigr.<sup>3</sup> 367.

<sup>35</sup> For examples of this 'hortative' clause in public and private decrees see Larfield, Gr. Epigr.<sup>3</sup> 377 ff., 422 f., where many parallels to that of the Cairness decree will be found. For πρῶτα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τὸν ἀποδοῦν cf. IG. xii(1). 1033. 12, xii(3). 1270A 19, SIG. 721. 21, 748. 51, OGI. 339. 86, GDI. 3090: for ἀποδοῦν ἐν χάριτι ἀποδοῦν SIG. 618. 15, 800. 29, OGI. 339. 88, IGRom. iv. 993 li. 15, SEG. iv. 598. 13.



And let him also bring on the occasion of each procession one supernumerary guest. And let him also be exempted from every task and every expense. And let an ox be led in his honour every year for all time to come in the procession at the Apollonia, bearing the following inscription, 'The Society of Worshippers of Poseidon from Berytus for Marcus Minatius, son of Sextus.'

For the 'transition-formula' here used (ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, δεδόχθαι, l. 20), which is extremely common in later decrees, both public and private,<sup>36</sup> see Larfeld, *Gr. Epigr.*<sup>3</sup> 356, 423. The phrase φιλοφρόνως ἀποδέχεσθαι (ll. 22, 23) is used (e.g. in *IG*. ii<sup>2</sup>. 1330. 6, *SEG*. 601. 9, 826 K 6, 1051. 10) of the welcome given either to persons or to things;<sup>37</sup> of ἐπαγγελία (l. 21), which is here its object, I have spoken above. The αὐλή mentioned here (l. 23) and perhaps also below (l. 91) is the courtyard of the Poseidoniasts' establishment at Delos, used, it would seem, for the erection both of statues and of inscribed stelaē.<sup>38</sup> The erection of a statue (the word ἀνάθεσις sometimes denotes 'erection,' sometimes 'dedication,' but usually combines these two meanings) is one of the commonest expressions of gratitude and honour, whether on the part of the state (Larfeld, *Gr. Epigr.*<sup>3</sup> 390 ff.) or on that of a private body (*ibid.* 424, Poland, 431 ff.); the honour is here increased by the freedom granted to Minatius (ll. 23-4, 24-5, 26) to select the precise spot where his statue was to stand,<sup>39</sup> without restriction if it were erected in the αὐλή, but subject to certain reservations (l. 25) if anywhere else.<sup>40</sup>

Further, a painted portrait of Minatius is to be set up at some place in the precinct chosen by him,<sup>41</sup> and the decree prescribes the exact wording of the inscription<sup>42</sup> which is to accompany the statue and the portrait (ll. 27-31). From this we learn that Minatius was a banker (τραπεζίτης), perhaps a member of the group of οἱ ἐν Δήλῳ τραπεζίται who set up a dedication on the island.<sup>43</sup> Other Italian bankers also carried on their business at Delos, among them Philostratus, a native of Ascalon who settled

<sup>36</sup> The increasing popularity of the worship of Τύχη among the associations of the Greco-Roman world is emphasised by Poland, 226. Of the phrase here used numerous examples, dating from 302 B.C. onwards, will be found in the Attic *decreta collegiorum et sodaliscorum* (*IG*. ii<sup>1</sup>. 1251-1346): cf. *IG*. xii(3). 1270A 20, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* vii. 66, 67.

<sup>37</sup> See also *IG*. ii<sup>2</sup>. 1330. 14 (where φιλοφρόνως might be restored in place of φιλοφρόνως), *JHS*. ix. 248 (restored *BCH*. i. 491), *AM*. xciii. 259, *BCH*. lvi. 7 (= *SEG*. vii. 62) and the passages collected on p. 53, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* vii. 66, ll. 5, 8, *SEG*. iv. 433.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. στήσαι ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ ἱεροῦ (*IG*. ii<sup>2</sup>. 1299. 28, 78, 1304. 45, 1329. 29). For these αὐλαὶ see Poland, 469; for this use of the word τέπος, Poland, 453 f., 475.

<sup>39</sup> Similarly the Delian association of Tyrian Heracleians orders the erection of a portrait (γραπτὴ εἰκὼν) of its priest and benefactor, Patron, ἐν τῇ πλατείᾳ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου καὶ ἀλλοτρίᾳ εὐ εἰς αὐτὸς βούληται (*Michel*, 968. 42), while at Pergamon the statues of Diodorus are to be erected ἐν εἰς ἂν αὐτὸς κρίνηται εἰς

ἱερῶν καὶ δημοσίων τόπων (*AM*. xciii. 246 = *IGRom.* iv. 252. 26). Cf. *BCH*. xiii. 240.

<sup>40</sup> For the occurrence of εὐαί in association-records see Poland, 459; for that of προστῆα, Poland, 468 f. A σπὸς belonging to the Delian Poseidoniasts appears in *BCH*. vii. 474 f., Nos. 2, 3. Προστῆα also occur in *IG*. ii<sup>2</sup>. 204. 27, 1271. 5; 1322. 6, 1666B 53, 1675. 3, 1680. 1, xii (7). 434 (Aegiale), *CIG*. 2694 d 10 (Mylasa). The form πρόστρον found in our decree recurs at Apherlae (*IGRom.* iii. 690) and perhaps at Panamara (*SEG*. iv. 272), and as an occasional variant in MSS.; the scholiast on *Iliad*, xx. 11 uses πρόστρος adjectively in the phrase τόπων πρόστροι. Cf. τεπρόστροι, *BCH*. lvi. 293.

<sup>41</sup> For other examples of γραπτοὶ εἰκόνες cf. *IG*. ii<sup>2</sup>. 1012. 17, 1327. 24, v(2). 516. 23, *SEG*. 1068. 21 (Patnos), *OGI*. 51: 22 (Ptolemais), 565. 3 (Oenoanda), 573. 4 (Cadyanda), and in general Poland, 431 ff.; for the ἱερό, Poland, 457 f.

<sup>42</sup> See Poland, 434.

<sup>43</sup> *BCH*. xiii. 781: cf. Poland, 84, 109. For the δημοσίαι τέποις at Delos cf. Laidlaw, *History of Delos*, 156, 189 f., 198 f., Roussel, *Déllos col. ath.* 176 ff.



at Naples, where he acquired citizenship,<sup>44</sup> and Maraeus Gerillanus, a Roman citizen.<sup>45</sup> Of these *foeneratores* J. Hatzfeld has given a full account in his masterly article on the Italians resident at Delos,<sup>46</sup> while elsewhere<sup>47</sup> he has dealt with the operations of Italian bankers and money-lenders in Greek lands and has discussed the relations of the Roman settlers to the Greek families and associations. The title of εὐεργέτης given to Minatius (ll. 30, 46), whether on some previous occasion or for the first time by the present decree, is an honorary distinction bestowed both by the state and by many associations, notably in Delos and Rhodes.<sup>48</sup> Several other εὐεργέται of the Berytian Poseidoniastae are known to us<sup>49</sup> and the title is also conferred by the Delian societies of Tyrian Heracleistae (Michel, 998. 31, 51) and οἱ ἐν Λα[οδικείᾳ] τῇ ἐν Φοινίκῃ ἐγδοχεῖς καὶ να[ύκληροί] (IG. xi. 1114).

Minatius also receives (ll. 32-4) the right to occupy at the festival of Poseidon a seat (κλισία)<sup>50</sup> next to that of the official who offers the sacrifice,<sup>51</sup> and at all other meetings of the Association<sup>52</sup> a seat in the first row (πρωτοκλισία).<sup>53</sup> Numerous Delian accounts<sup>54</sup> attest an official cult of Poseidon,<sup>55</sup> on which the sum of 600 dr. is normally expended, from 269 to 169 B.C. For the period after 166, when Delos lost its independence and

<sup>44</sup> BCH. i. 86 f., viii. 128 f., 488 ff., xxvii. 67, xlv. 471 ff. (=SEG. i. 334d). Cf. Roussel, *op. cit.* 83, 227, 312, Durrbach, *Chios*, 132.

<sup>45</sup> BCH. xi. 269, xxxi. 456 f., xxxvi. 37 f., 218; cf. Durrbach, *Chios*, 138, SEG. i. 334G. For a third banker, Lucius Aufidius, see BCH. xxiv. 398, xxxvi. 19.

<sup>46</sup> BCH. xxxvi. 141 ff.

<sup>47</sup> *Les Trafiquants Italiens dans l'Orient Hellénique* (Paris, 1919), 197 ff., 291 ff.

<sup>48</sup> Poland, 321, 437 f. For the cult of the εὐεργέται in the later Hellenistic period see the materials collected by L. Robert, BCH. i. 499 f. Cf. IG. ii<sup>2</sup>. 1277. 26.

<sup>49</sup> OGI. 591 and note 5, Roussel, *op. cit.* 91.

<sup>50</sup> The word recurs in the statutes of the Iobacchi (IG. ii<sup>2</sup>. 1368. 74), where I take it to denote 'seat' rather than 'booth': the latter meaning is given to it by von Hiller, following Maass and Dittenberger (SIG. 1109, note 46). Similarly the Egyptian σύνδοξος at Delos resolves προσλαβεῖσθαι τὸ σέπτερον εἰς τὴν σύνδοξον . . . κλισίαν ἔχ[ου]σας ἑπτὰ (Roussel, *Cultes Egypt.* 204) and an Egyptian society of συγγι-ωργοὶ decrees κλισίας ἔχιν αὐτὸν τὴν πρώτην διὰ βίου (Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex. vii. 66 f., ll. 11, 26). Cf. Poland, 436, 477, L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.* ix. 274.

<sup>51</sup> The title θύτης does not occur in any other association-record, though ἀρχισφύτης, κροθύτης and προθύτης are found (Poland, 359, 390): θυ[τ]ής, however, has been convincingly restored in an inscription of συμπολιτοὶ from Tira (AM. xxiv. 93; cf. *Rh. Mus.* lv. 312, Poland, 390: Contoleon's δ[ι]τ[η]ς, REG. xii. 384, is much less probable). Elsewhere θύτης apparently denotes a public official, e.g. IG. ix(2). 1234, xiv. 617, and especially SIG. 589. 18 τὰ δ' ἀγορεύουσιν θύται τῇ πόλει (see note *ad loc.*). Here it may well refer to the Association rather

than to the state, for a decree of a society could hardly bestow a seat next to that of the public 'sacrificer' at a state ceremony.

<sup>52</sup> Σύνοδος in ll. 33, 44 means 'meeting,' not 'association,' as in SIG. 705. 61, 1100. 30, etc.: for this use of the word see Poland, 247 f. Occasionally it denotes 'contribution,' as in SIG. 706. 15, 1161. 7 (cf. Roussel, *Cultes Egypt.* 83).

<sup>53</sup> The usual term is προεδρία (Poland, 436): for κλισία ἑστιαστής and κ. ἡ πρώτη cf. note 50. Πρωτοκλισία, defined by Suidas as ἡ πρώτη καθέδρος, occurs only in the Gospels (Matt. xxiii. 6, Mark xii. 39, Luke xiv. 7, 8, xx. 46) and in Christian writers from Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vii. 16) onwards. The meaning of τὰ πρωτοκλισία in ii Marc. iv. 21 is doubtful, though it may be a variant of the other.

<sup>54</sup> IG. xi. 203A 57 (269 B.C.), 274. 17, 287A 89 (250 B.C.), *Inscr. Delos*, 401. 16 ff. (190 B.C.), 406B 68 ff., 440A 43, 60 ff., 442A 219 ff. (179 B.C.), 445. 1 ff. (178 B.C.), 452. 7 ff., 461Ab 25, Bb 50 ff. (169 B.C.), BCH. xxxiv. 141.

<sup>55</sup> For the Poseidia at Delos see F. Durrbach, BCH. xxi. 525 ff., xxxiv. 144 f., P. Roussel, *Delos col. ath.* 273 f., M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, 82; for the Poseidon-cults of the other islands, Nilsson, *op. cit.* 81 ff. Especially important is the joint festival of Poseidon and Dionysus at Tenos (IG. xii(5). 804-55 *passim*). The name of the festival is written consistently Ποσειδωνία in the Delian and Tenian records (except Ποσειδωνία in IG. xii(5). 838). Elsewhere we have Ποσειδωνία in IG. vi(1). 213, Ποσειδωνία in IG. iv(1)<sup>2</sup>. 629, vi(1). 656, 1387, Ποσειδωνία in IG. vii. 47 and Hesych. l.v., Ποσειδωνία in IG. xii(2). 71. Less common are the forms Ποσειδωνία (IG. ix(2). 614<sup>2</sup>, Strabo, x. 487, Athen. xiii. 590 f.) and Ποσειδωνία (SIG. 1028, 1067, SEG. iv. 178).



became an Athenian colony, there has hitherto been no evidence of its survival, but Roussel's emphatic warning<sup>56</sup> against drawing the conclusion that the cult had ceased finds its full justification in the appearance of the Ποσειδάων in the Cairness decree, which, as we shall see, falls after the middle of the second century B.C. The Poseidoniasts of Beyrout would doubtless participate in this public festival, but would also celebrate among themselves the worship of the Semitic 'Poseidon,' one of their πατριοὶ θεοὶ (*BCH.* vii. 473, 476).<sup>57</sup>

Moreover, the day following that of the procession of the Apollonia is to be observed (ἀγέσθω, l. 34)<sup>58</sup> annually in honour of Minatius, and on that occasion he is authorised to bring two guests (not necessarily, it would seem, members of the Association) of his own choice. The word ἐπικλητός, used in ll. 36, 48, is applied by Herodotus (vii. 8 with Macan's note, viii. 101, ix. 42) to the privy councillors of the Persian king or commander, and by Strabo (xiv. 640) to a board of magistrates at Ephesus, mentioned also in an Ephesian decree of 302-1 B.C. (*SIG.* 353. 2). Its use to denote a supplementary guest, invited by a guest and not directly by the host, is well illustrated by Plutarch, *Quaest. conviv.* vii. 6. 1, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπικλητῶν ἕσθαι, οὓς νῦν σκίος καλοῦσιν, οὐ κεκλημένους αὐτοῦς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν κεκλημένων ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἀγομένους, ἐζητεῖτο πόθεν ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν.<sup>59</sup> Alike at the Posidea and on his own name-day and at the monthly assemblies<sup>60</sup> of the Association Minatius is to be crowned with the golden crown<sup>61</sup> which he himself had bestowed on the Association (l. 37) and an appropriate proclamation<sup>62</sup> is to be made (ll. 38-46), such proclamations taking place immediately after those in honour of the δῆμος,<sup>63</sup> i.e., since Delos was at this time an Athenian colony, probably the Athenian δῆμος. On the occa-

<sup>56</sup> *Delos coll. arch.* 273 note 8.

<sup>57</sup> *Op. cit.* 91, 271.

<sup>58</sup> The word ἀγεῖν occurs in this sense in classical Greek, e.g., Thuc. v. 54. The phrase here used finds close parallels in Roussel, *Cultes égypt.* 203 ἀγεσθαι ἐπὶ εὐχῶν κατ' ἐκαστὸν ἡμέραν τὴν (1) τὸ Μεχίρη. *SIG.* 1068. 21 (Patmos) ἀγεῖν ἐπὶ αἵματι καὶ ἐν ἡμέραις ἡμέραν, *SEG.* l. 330B 9 (Istria) διδιδχεῖν τὴν ἡμέραν ἀγεσθαι κατ' ἑτορ ἐκ τῶν τέκων, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* vii. 66. 11, 67. 27 (cf. 66. 15, 67. 32, 45) ἀγεσθαι ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡμέραν κατ' ἐκαστὴν, *SEG.* iv. 598. 14, *OGL* 763. 50 and note 41. In view of these examples, I suggest that *IG.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1330. 38 should be restored ἀγεσθαι (or ἀγεῖν) ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ (καὶ) ἡμέραν ἐκαστὴν κατὰ μέγεθος, rather than εἶναι ἐπὶ ἡμέραις κατὰ. The decree Roussel *loc. cit.* proceeds to ἡν καὶ εἰσάσθαι ἱεροποιῶν . . . ἐκ τοῦ κ[ο]ινῶν ἀργυρίου ἸΝ, on which he comments 'je donne l'interprétation . . . qui, manifestement, a été gravée, mais qui ne m'a permis aucune restitution.' A possible restoration would be ἱεροποιῶν[τες], an adjective which, regularly formed (cf. τειχεποιῶν *SIG.* 368. 39, *Milet.* l. 138. 33, τειχεποιῶν *IG.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1617. 121, 1622. 389) though hitherto unattested, would agree with the word ἀρχαῖος represented by the symbol Λ. For the celebration of ἐκωνομαίαι ἡμέραι see Poland, 250 f. (Since writing the foregoing note I find that

Ziebarth (*Bem.* cxiii. 75) has already restored ἱεροποιῶν[τες] in the Delian decree.)

<sup>59</sup> The word recurs in the same sense in Plut. *op. cit.* vii. 6. 2 and probably in Aristoph. *Pax*, 1266. Plutarch adds the remark that ἀναγκαῖον γινώσκει τοῖς ἀγεσθαι τοὺς ἐπομένους καὶ τιμωμένους ἐπὶ τῷ βίῳ ποιεσθαι τὴν κλήσιν, ἀρετὰς δὲ ὄρεται, which, though applicable mainly to dinners at which royalty was entertained, illustrates also Minatius' position at Delos.

<sup>60</sup> For the religious gatherings of associations see Poland, 247 ff., for their business meetings, Poland, 330 ff., for monthly gatherings as characteristic of Greek societies, Poland, 252.

<sup>61</sup> For the bestowal of golden crowns see Poland, 428 ff.

<sup>62</sup> For these proclamations, usually denoted, as here, by ἀναγορεύω, ἀναγορεύσεις, see Poland, 441 ff. and cf. *SEG.* i. 330B 12. I should prefer to restore this verb, rather than κηρύσσειν, in *SEG.* iv. 598. 34.

<sup>63</sup> Similar phrases occur in *IG.* xi. 1061. 20 (Delos) μετὰ τὴν σπράττωσι τῶν δῆμων, *SEG.* i. 330B 21 (Istria) μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας, *IGRum.* iv. 159. 13 (Gyzicia) μετὰ τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ θείου σπρανῶσιν.



sion of each procession, Minatius might invite a single supernumerary guest to participate (ll. 47, 48). He is further declared exempt from all claims upon his service and his purse on the part of the Society (ll. 48, 49). Similarly, the Society of Tyrian Heracleistae at Delos decrees that their benefactor Patron shall be ἀσύμβολος καὶ ἀλειτούργητος ἐν ταῖς γινομέναις συνόδοις πάσαις (Michel, 998. 44 = Durrbach, *Choix*, 85), while an Egyptian σύνεδρος on the same island admits two men whose names have not survived to a seat of honour ἀλειτούργητους ὄντας πάσης λειτουργίας (Roussel, *Cultes Egypt.* 204, No. 216, l. 18) without payment of the usual entry-fee (εἰσόδιον).<sup>64</sup> A longer list of exemptions is accorded by an Egyptian society of συγγεωργοί, who declare a benefactor, Paris, ἀζήμιον καὶ ἀσύμβολον καὶ ἀνεπιμνηνέον καὶ ἀλειτούργητον καὶ ἀνείσφορον (*Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* vii. 67, l. 39).<sup>65</sup> Ἀλειτούργητος is followed, in the Cairness decree as in that of the Egyptian σύνεδρος just quoted, by the genitive of the duty from which exemption is granted:<sup>66</sup> I have not met the word ἀσχολία elsewhere in this connexion and it does not seem to have been a technical term.<sup>67</sup> Finally, an ox is to be led in the procession of the Apollonia annually for all time to come, bearing a suitable inscription (ll. 49-52; cf. 71, 75).

We now pass to a paragraph the main object of which is to secure the permanence of the honours voted by this decree.

(ll. 52-68.) *And in order that the honours granted by the Association to Marcus may endure, as is right, for all time to come and many may be led to emulate his desire for glory in his dealings with the Association, knowing that it is of practical service and does not only decree to its benefactors the befitting honours but, as is most necessary, shews eagerness that the honours granted may endure eternally for its benefactors, let no one, neither private member nor official, be allowed to propose, either in speech or in writing, that anything in the honours granted should be changed or withdrawn or invalidated contrary to this decree: otherwise may he who has proposed either in writing or in speech or who has read or brought forward a motion or who has put such motion to the vote or who has made a written proposal or brought forward a motion, perish utterly, himself and his children, but may those who observe these provisions have enjoyment both of life and of children and of goods, and may they*

<sup>64</sup> For this remission see A. Wilhelm, *ÖJh.* v. 138; for ἀπέλευς and other exemptions granted by Greek societies, Poland, 436 f.

<sup>65</sup> The phrase ἀρισταί καὶ ἀνεπιμνηνέου καὶ ἀβδόχου occurs in *Pap. Masp.* 67168. 29. 'The treasurer of the Athenian Iubacchi is ἀνείσφορος during his two years' tenure of office' (*SIG.* 1109. 158): ἀνείσφορος recurs in *IG.* xiv. 951. 12, *Stria*, xv. 35, ἀνείσφορος in *Samuelbuch*, 5225. 4, *SIG.* 612B 3, *Stria*, xv. 34, *ÖJh.* xiv. Beiblatt, 126. Ἀνείσφορος should probably be restored in *SIG.* 612C 4 for ἀνείσφορος, which is found nowhere else. For ἀσύμβολος cf. *SIG.* 1045. 9 (Arceusine), 1046. 18 (ἱεραργεῖ of Athena Itonia), 1113 (Adonistae of Laryma), *JHS.* ix. 248 (a Cyprian society): see also *SIG.* 1045, 21 ἀπέλευς τῶν συμβολῶν.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. *IG.* xiv. 951. 12 ἀ. πάντως τῶν πραγμάτων, *SIG.* 409. 17 ἀ. τῶν ἐργῶν τῶν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, *Dein.* xviii. 91, *Diod.* ii. 40, etc. Elsewhere it stands

alone, e.g. *IG.* vii. 2413, *SIG.* 647. 42, *Saradi.* vii(1). 2. 21 (ἀλητ-), *Documenti ant. dell' Afr. Ital.* ii. Cernusca, 127, *Oxy. Pap.* 62. 2, *Pap. Soc. Ital.* 440. 4. The privilege so granted, whether by the state (*SIG.* 880. 55, *IGRön.* iv. 295, *IG.* xi(5). 721. 3 (cf. *SEG.* iii. 748), *SEG.* iv. 285. 307, *Oxy. Pap.* 40. 10, *Pap. Florent.* 382. 3) or by a society (*SEG.* iv. 515. 15), is called ἀλειτούργησις (wrongly spelt -γολίς in *Samuelb.* 4224. 15): the Latin ἀλειτούργια, cited by LS. from Benndorf-Niemann, *Reisen in Lykien u. Karien*, 78, No. 55, is now shown (*TAM.* ii. 221) to be a mistaken reading of the stone. A periphrasis is used in *Stria*, xv. 34 [ἀν]του[ργί]ας θεμεσίος ἀπάσης πάρε[σις] ἱερῶν. *Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* x. 7 has ἀπὸ πάντων (sic) ἀπαρσπλῶς τῶν λειτουργιῶν βούλομαι ἀλειτούργητους διαφυλάττειν.

<sup>67</sup> But cf. ἀσχολία, *BGU.* iv. 1202. 4 (*APF.* v. 432), ἀσχήλημα, *Oxy. Pap.* 977.



be in safety both by land and by sea. And let him who has acted contrary to these provisions pay 6000 'croioned' drachmas sacred to Poseidon, and let him be liable to an action by him who is wronged; and in the same way let the President of the Guild also, if he fail to do ought of what has been enjoined upon him, owe a fine of like amount, and let him be liable to an action by him who is wronged.

Τίμια (l. 53) is a mere variant for the τιμαί used elsewhere (ll. 57, 59); there is no difference of meaning.<sup>68</sup> To the phrase used in l. 53 we find a close parallel in a Chian decree, [ἵνα δ]ε καὶ τὰ ψηφισθέντα . . . διαμένῃ εἰ[ς] τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον (SIG. 443. 42).<sup>69</sup> The outspoken desire, expressed in various forms, to evoke emulation (l. 54) by the bestowal of honours on those who have rendered special services to their states or societies is one of the commonest topics of honorary decrees; about 153 B.C. the Oropians honoured a benefactor ὅπως . . . γίνωνται καὶ ἄλλοι ζ[ηλ]ῶται τῆς αὐτῆς αἰρέσεως, εἰδότες κτλ. (IG. vii. 411. 27), and in the following century the Attic Σωτηριασταί, in a decree very similar to the present, granted honours to a certain Diodorus ἵνα τούτων συντελουμένων πολλοὶ ζηλωταὶ γίνωνται τὴν <τὴν> σύνοδον ἐπαύξῃν (IG. ii<sup>2</sup>. 1343. 40).<sup>70</sup> The epithet εὐχρηστος (l. 55) is commonly applied to individuals:<sup>71</sup> I know no other example of its use to describe a society. For the redundant *iota* in ἐξέστῳ (l. 58) see Meisterhans, *Grammatik*<sup>3</sup>, 67, Schweizer, *Gramm. d. pergam. Inschriften*, 90 f., Mayser, *Grammatik der griech. Papyri*, i. 134 ff.

In phrases like ἡ ἀρχὼν ἡ ἰδιώτης (IG. ii<sup>2</sup>. 1629. 235) the magistrate is usually named before the private citizen:<sup>72</sup> here (l. 58) the order is reversed and the words are used in a different sense (cf. l. 89). The phrase ὥς δεῖ (l. 59) recurs in an almost exactly similar context in the decree reorganising the schools of Teos with the aid of Polythrus' benefaction (SIG. 578. 42). With the curse (ll. 60-2) directed against all who should attempt in any way to alter, cancel or invalidate any provision of this decree and also against their children we may again compare the Teian document just cited, ἐξώλης εἴη καὶ τὸς καὶ γένος τὸ ἐκείνου (ll. 49, 64), and a Mylasian decree of 367-6 B.C., εἰ δὲ τις ταῦτα παραβαίνοι, ἐξώλη γίνεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου πάντας (SIG. 167. 14).<sup>73</sup> The invocation of blessing upon those who observe the provisions of a law or decree or respect the sanctity of a grave or other monument is rarer than that of a curse on those who disregard them. In a Smyrnaean *lex sacra* we find the phrase βίου καὶ ἐργασίας καλῆς γένοιτο παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ δνησις (SIG. 997. 14) and in an Italian oath τοῖς δὲ [εὖ]ο[ρ]κέοσι καὶ κατέχουσι

<sup>68</sup> Poland 446\*\* interprets τίμια in IG. xii(3). 253. τὰς 'penalties': I am not convinced that he is right.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. SIG. 335. 12, 705. 11, 1007. 27, IG. xi. 1061. 11.

<sup>70</sup> In SIG 1104 von Hiller reads (τεῦ) τὴν <τὴν>: If any change is to be made, I prefer Dittenberger's τ[ε]ῦ τὴν (SIG<sup>2</sup>. 732. note 21: cf. BCH. lvi. 36). Cf. IG. ii<sup>2</sup>. 1046. 37, xii(9). 234. 46, 236. 26, 43. 239. 5, *Inschr. Perg.* 233. 13, Larfeld, *Gr. Epigraphik*<sup>2</sup>, 377 ff., 422 f.

<sup>71</sup> E.g. IG. ii<sup>2</sup>. 820. 4, 945. 15, 1323. 15, 1327. 8,

1345, SIG. 623.12, 662. 17, 1068. 6.

<sup>72</sup> E.g. SIG. 490. 2, 570. 40, 672. 16, IG. xii(7). 69. 38, xii(9). 191.130.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. SIG. 366. 13, 326. 47, 633. 114, 997. 6, DGI. 266. 50, 532. 28 ff., *Inschr. Priene*, 201-3, AM. xxxii. 298. For the curse in Greek law see E. Ziebarth, *Hermes*, xxx, 57 ff., *RE*. vi. 2771 ff. Good examples of the use of a curse for the protection of a tomb or other monument are SIG. 38. 35 ff., 1238-41, (*Orontes*, viii(1). 136), SEG. i. 470. iii. 304. vi. 802, IG. iii. 1417-22, *Sordas*, viii(1). 152, *ÖJA*. xxviii. Beiblatt, 172 f.



τὸν [δρκα]ν τέκνων δνασ[ι]ν γίνεσθ[αι] (SIG. 526. 38: cf. 45), while on a herm erected by Herodes Atticus in honour of his friend Amphicles of Chalcis is inscribed a prayer for him who respects the memorial, πληθύνει αὐτῷ οἶκος παίδων γοναῖς καὶ καρπῶν ἀπολαύσειν (SIG. 1240. 25).<sup>74</sup> It is noteworthy that, whereas most of these curses and prayers give prominence to the fruits of the ground (καρποί), the formula used in our Delian decree, relating to merchants and not to farmers, mentions, in addition to the enjoyment of children, only βίου καὶ ὑπαρχόντων δνησις and safety in journeying by land and sea.

From imprecations and blessings dependent upon divine intervention we turn (l. 64) to penalties imposed by human justice for any contravention of these regulations by a member of the Association<sup>75</sup> or any failure on the part of the President to fulfil the duties devolving upon him. The offender is to pay a fine of 6000 drachmas to the sacred funds of Poseidon, from which, no doubt, the cost of the religious activities of the Association was defrayed, and is in addition liable to an action brought against him by the person aggrieved (ll. 66, 68; cf. 80), presumably in the public court.<sup>76</sup>

The fine is calculated in δραχμαὶ στεφανηφόροι (l. 65).<sup>77</sup> This epithet does not, so far as I know, occur elsewhere, though several Athenian inscriptions of the late second or early first century B.C. refer to Στεφανηφόρου δραχμαὶ or δραχμαὶ τοῦ Στεφανηφόρου.<sup>78</sup> I have not, however, felt justified in assuming an engraver's error here, for it would be surprising to find these coins circulating at Delos as early as the date of this decree. It seems more probable that the term στεφανηφόροι was used popularly as a cant-name for the Athenian tetradrachms and drachmas of the 'New Style' (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup> 378 ff.), first issued in 230-20 B.C., which have a wreath round the reverse type, whereas there was no such wreath on the coins of the 'Old Style.' Thus the fine prescribed in our decree is payable only in the new Athenian currency.

The President of the Association is, as was previously known,<sup>79</sup> entitled

<sup>74</sup> The phrase τέκνων δνησις occurs in CIG. 2664 (Halicarnassus), σπῆ γῆ καρποφόρος [ἡ] τ[ῆ]ς αὐτοῦ μηδὲ θάλασσαν πλωτῆ, μηδὲ τέκνων δνησις, μηδὲ βίον κράτησις, ἀλλὰ [ἵνα] ἐξέλθῃ πανόλη. In *Sardis*, vii(1). 152 the editors have restored μήτε θ[ρ]αυδ[ι] των δνησις σ[ι]η. In the Amphictyonic oath inscribed at Delphi in 117 B.C., the word κατοικῆται is used: ἐπιποκόντι δὲ θ[ῆ]ται τε καὶ Ἀπόλλων Πύθιος καὶ Ἀσκλη καὶ Ἄρτεμις καὶ Ἑστία καὶ Πῦρ Ἀθήνασσαν καὶ θεοὶ πάσις τε καὶ πᾶσι καίεται, ἀλλήροις τῇς σωτηρίαν μοι [ἀφαι]σῶσι, μήτε τέκνων μήτε σπορίων μήτε κερσ[ι]ν μ[ὴ] τε εὐπείας κατόνοσθαι ἐστωσιν) but [τε] αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν, καὶ μ[ὴ] ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἴδιον πᾶντα ἐκβάλωσι οἱ ἐπικέρουσι (SIG. 1226C 14). With the σωτηρία in this formula cf. the σωζέσθαι of the Delian decree (l. 63). In BCH. xi. 454 [δνη]σις should be restored in place of [τενη]σις.

<sup>75</sup> With ὁ παρὰ ταῦτά τι παίσεις (l. 64) cf. IG. ii<sup>2</sup>. 132B. 11, SIG. 578. 48.

<sup>76</sup> Contrast the clause in the statutes of the Attic Society of Iobacchi (IG. ii<sup>2</sup>. 1368. 90 ff.) imposing a penalty on τῷ δορίει καὶ μὴ ἐπεξῶδοντι ποσὶ τῷ ἑστῇ ἡ

τῷ ἀρχιβάδοντι, ἀλλὰ θεμοσίῃ ἐκκλίσαντι, with which we may compare St. Paul's words in 1 Cor. vi. 1 ff. For the phrase ἐπεξῶδοντι τῷ ἀδικουμένῳ (ll. 66, 68, 80) cf. IG. xii(7). 3. 44, 315, 119, SIG. 629. 20, 1157. 50. The simple dative indicates the person who may bring the action, the dative with ἐς the tribunal before which the action lies, e.g. δάμασι ὑποδίκου εἶναι ἐν βρομήμασιν (SIG. 424. 7).

<sup>77</sup> The epithet is not repeated in l. 80, but presumably the same drachma is intended in both passages.

<sup>78</sup> IG. ii<sup>2</sup>. 1013. 29 ff., 1028. 30, 40, 1029. 24, 1030. 27. Cf. RE. i.v. Stephanephoros, Στεφανηφόρου δραχμαί. I have to thank Dr. J. G. Milne and Mr. D. B. Harden for their kind help in dealing with this numismatic problem.

<sup>79</sup> BCH. vii. 472 (ἀρχιβασιτής); 467 (= OGI 591), 470, 471 (ἀρχιβασιτεύς); xxxi. 446 (ἀρχιβασιτάς). This last word is, however, due, as Poland suggests (p. 345), to an error, as is clear from the photograph (fig. 8).



ἀρχιθιαστίης (ll. 66, 84, 88, 90). This title recurs only in the second-century documents of two other Delian societies, that of the Tyrian Heracleistae and that of the Enatistae,<sup>80</sup> and in a record of a Pamphylian θιασος (SEG. vi. 718). The fullest account of the position and duties of the President of the Berytian Poseidoniasts, which can be supplemented from our present decree, is that given by Picard (BCH. xlv. 273 ff.), who has also drawn up a list of the known holders of the office (276 ff.). The President was elected annually, but was re-eligible (BCH. vii. 467 ἀρχιθιαστέων τὸ δεύτερον).

The decipherment of ll. 60, 61 has proved a very difficult task and I am not quite sure that I have wholly succeeded; but I feel almost certain that two items—ἡ ὁ γράψας and ἡ ὁ προθεῖς—have been accidentally repeated; for the formula cf. Poland, 333, L. Robert, BCH. lvii. 407, 510 f.

(Ll. 68–93.) *And to those who have been appointed ox-rearers according to the law let 150 drachmas be further granted by the treasurers in office for the time being for the ox which is led in procession in honour of Marcus, and let other 150 drachmas be further granted to the same officials for the reception which the Society holds every year in honour of Marcus; and let the ox-rearers take the aforesaid sum of money and lead an ox in procession and conduct the banquet according to the decree; and let them render an account in writing of the sums which they have administered, at the first meeting which takes place after the reception. And if any of the elected ox-rearers fail to do ought of what is commanded him, let him owe a thousand drachmas sacred to Poseidon and let him be liable to prosecution by him who is wronged. And let those who have failed to do ought of what is contained in this decree not only be subject to the curse, but also let anyone who wishes among the members of the Guild, who have the right so to do, denounce them; and let the President of the Guild, who is in office for the time being, bring into court the accuser and the defendant and let him take a vote of the guild-members. And let the [right of taking security?] from the accused rest with him who has brought the denunciation, and let the same man receive the third part of the sum exacted: and if the President of the Guild fail to do ought, let the charge lie against him in the same way as soon as he becomes a private member. And let the President of the Guild inscribe the decree on a stele of stone and set it in the courtyard [in conformity with?] the . . . in the year of Phaedrias' [archonship], and let the treasurers in office pay the cost herefor.*

The βουτρόφοι (ll. 69, 74, 78), here first mentioned, were officials elected (the term used is προχειρίζω in l. 69, χειροτονέω in l. 78) in accordance with the law, one of whose functions was to provide each year an ox which should take part in the procession<sup>81</sup> of the Apollonia (cf. l. 50) and to organise the annual reception (ὑποδοχή, l. 72)<sup>82</sup> and the banquet (l. 75: cf. 15), which formed its central feature. For these purposes they are to receive an annual grant of 300 drachmas, 150 under each head,

<sup>80</sup> Michel, 998 (= Durrbach, *Choix*, 83) 3, 48, 34, 53, IG. xi. 1228, 2, 14, 1229, 2, 14. For the form of the word see Poland, 16; for the functions of the office, Poland, 348, 352 f.

<sup>81</sup> Πουρνός is used intransitively in l. 71, transitively in l. 75. [Πουρ=]ἰδωσι βοῦ has been restored

by L. Robert in a decree of Ilium (SEG. iv. 663). Cf. Poland, 266 f.

<sup>82</sup> Ὑποδοχή is similarly used in SH. 1107, 12, OGI. 339, 86, IG. xii(1). 155, 49 and should be restored in SH. 107, cxxxii. 2, 14. See the discussion of Ὑποδοχή, Ὑποδοχέω in Poland, 260.



payable by the ἀργυροταμίαι of the Society. At the first meeting<sup>83</sup> of the Association held after the reception they are to render an account in writing.<sup>84</sup> We learn here (l. 70) for the first time the title of the chief financial officers of the Society. Ἀργυροταμίαι appear frequently<sup>85</sup> as state officials, but here they administer the funds of a society, as in the case of the Ephesian μύσται (*BMIscr.* 506. 7), the Philadelphian γερονσία (*AM.* xxv. 122), the Acmonian νέοι καὶ ὕμνωδοί (*BCH.* xvii. 261), an athletic σύνοδος (*BMPap.* 1178. 62, 94) and an Egyptian guild (*Pap. Lond.* iii. 1178. 74).<sup>86</sup>

A further comprehensive clause follows (ll. 81-9), dealing with those who fail to carry out the provisions of the decree and invoking against them both divine and human justice. They are to be 'subject to the curse' (l. 82). This may refer either to (1) the curse expressed above in ll. 61, 62, or to (2) a curse contained in some 'commination service' of the Poseidonians, or to (3) a curse pronounced upon himself by each member upon entering the Society in the event of his being guilty of any infraction of its rules. In favour of this last interpretation we might cite the opening words of a fourth-century decree of the Attic guild of Εἰκαδείς (*IG.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1258), ἐπειδὴ τι[ν]ες ἐναντία τῷ: ὀρκῶν ὃν ὤμοσαν καὶ τε[ί] ἀρᾷ ἦν Εἰκαδεύς ἐπηράσαστο διατελοῦσι πράττοντες καὶ λέγοντες κατὰ Εἰκαδέων. I prefer, however, the second interpretation, which is suggested by a phrase in a decree of the Chian phratry of the Clytidae, ταῖς ἐκ [τῶν] νόμων ἀραις ἐνοχος ἔστω (*SIG.* 987. 35), and is supported by other passages.<sup>87</sup> With the formula of ll. 83-4, empowering any of the members who had the right (this was doubtless determined by the statutes of the Association)<sup>88</sup> to denounce the offender, we may compare the phrase used in a *lex sacra* of Ialysus, now in the British Museum, ποταγγελλέτω δὲ τὸν τοῦτων τι ποιεῦντα ὁ χρήζων ἐς τοὺς μαστρούς (*SIG.* 338. 33; cf. 1157. 87). The President for the time being<sup>89</sup> is directed to introduce the case to the members, sitting as a tribunal, and they, after hearing the accusation and the defence, are to pass a verdict, presumably by ballot and not by an open show of hands.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Cf. *IG.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1254. 21 (*REG.* xlv. 295) δταν π[ρ]ῶτον σύλλογος γένηται, 1325. 30 ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συνέδῳ, ix(1). 694. 95 ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συνόδῳ.

<sup>84</sup> In decrees of associations we find frequent references (e.g. *IG.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1263. 9 ff., 1277. 16, 1282. 9, 1284. 26, 1318. 6, *SEG.* iii. 128) to the rendering of accounts by those entrusted with the financial concerns of their guilds (cf. Poland, 429); but I recall no other instance of the word γραπτός in this connexion.

<sup>85</sup> See the evidence collected by Oehler in *RE.* ii. 802 and W. Liebenau, *Stadterhaltung*, 293 f., 365.

<sup>86</sup> See in general Poland, 377.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. ταῖς ἀραις ἐνοχος (*Dem.* xix. 201), ἐνοχος ἔστω τοῖς ἀραις (Hebertley-Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, 38), νόμοις ἰσοῦς καὶ ἀραις καὶ ἐπιτίμοις (*SIG.* 685. 81), ἐν τῇ ἀρᾷ ἔστω (*BCH.* i. 17 = *Fouilles de Delphes*, iii(1). 159, No. 294). Two well-known inscriptions contain a considerable portion of the ἀραι, or ἱπαραι, of Teos (*SIG.* 37, 38, Tod, *Greek Hist. Inscr.* 23; cf.

A. Olivieri, *Atti Napoli*, n.s. xi. 35 ff., *SIG.* 578. 60). A. Wilhelm has recently discussed the decree of the Clytidae in *ÖJh.* xxviii. 197 ff.

<sup>88</sup> The right was, we may assume, normally co-extensive with membership of the association: cf. *IG.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1275. 14 ἐὰν δὲ τις παρὰ τὸν νόμον ἢ ἰσχυρῇ ἢ πράξει, κατηγορίαν αὐτοῦ εἶναι τῷ βουλευμένῳ τῶν θιασῶν. For numerous examples of the right of accusation given in public documents to ὁ βουλευμένος, ὁ χρήζων, ὁ βίβλων see E. Ziebarth, *Hermes*, xcxi. 609 ff.

<sup>89</sup> For the order of the words (l. 84) ὁ ἀρχιθυσίας καὶ ὁ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὢν cf. *SIG.* 672. 66, 722. 9, *IG.* xii(1). 155. 30. The more usual order is followed in l. 70.

<sup>90</sup> This is, I think, a legitimate inference from the words ἀποδίδωτω ψήφον. Cf. *IG.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1339. 19, Appian, *BC.* i. 12, 100, Plut. *Tib. Gracchus*, 11, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* x. 57. So also the statutes of the Iobacchi prescribe ψήφῳ ὁ ἱεραρχὸς ἀπενέμωσεν (*IG.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1368. 86).



L. 86 baffles me; *θιασίταις* is plain, but the two (or three?) following letters, which at one time I read as *ΚΑΙ* and at another as *ΧΜ*, refuse to yield satisfactory sense and are due, I conclude, to the carelessness of the engraver, who had had to correct a blunder at the beginning of l. 85 and here again went astray. Then comes a clear *ΕΝΑΔ* followed by 6 or 7 illegible letters, succeeded in turn by *θυνομένου*. The restoration *τοῦ εὐ]θυνομένου* seems inescapable: the rest is puzzling. Dr. P. Roussel, to whom I submitted my provisional reading *καὶ ἐν - - - θυνομένου* proposed *καὶ ἐν[εχυρασία τοῦ εὐ]θυνομένου*, and though the photograph shews that this cannot have been actually engraved, it has afforded me the only suggestion I can make, viz. *ἐν[εχυρασί]α δ[ὲ τοῦ εὐ]θυνομένου*, which yields excellent sense and a line of the required length. *Ἐνεχυρασία* means not only 'security' or 'pledge,' but also, as here, 'the right or duty of taking security': thus a fourth-century Attic lease contains the clause *ἐάν δὲ μὴ ἀποδιδῶσιν* (sc. *τὴν μίσθωσιν*), *εἶναι ἐνεχυρασίαν Αἰξωνεῦσιν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὥραιων κτλ.* (*JG.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 2492. 7).<sup>91</sup> *Ὁ εὐθυνόμενος* is used not infrequently of the person brought to trial.<sup>92</sup> With *τοῦ [αὐ]τοῦ* in l. 87 cf. *[τοῖς] αὐτοῖς* in l. 72; the use of the genitive absolute (in place of *κομισσάμεναι καὶ*) is not very elegant, but the decree cannot rank as a model of style. The accuser is rewarded by receiving one-third of the fine imposed on the offender: such rewards, which usually consist of one-third or even a larger proportion of the penalty, have been fully discussed by E. Ziebarth, *Hermes*, xxxii. 609 ff.<sup>93</sup> Since the President of the Guild himself conducts the trial, special provision must be made for the case in which he is the accused. In that event, the trial is postponed pending the expiry of his term of office: when he returns to the status of a private member,<sup>94</sup> he is brought to trial in the usual way by his successor in office. I know no parallel to *ἐπειδὴν ἰδιώτης γένηται*, but some such restoration seems to be demanded by the context.<sup>95</sup>

The closing paragraph of the decree deals with the manner and cost of its publication. Its opening portion follows for the most part the customary formula,<sup>96</sup> though considerations of space lead me to restore *τὸ ψή]φισμα* in l. 90 rather than the usual *τόδε τὸ ψή]φισμα*.<sup>97</sup> *[Θέ]τω* (l. 91) is a rarer

<sup>91</sup> Cf. the very similar provision *JG.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1241. 38 ff. *Ἐνεχυρασία* and *εἰσπραξίς* are associated, as here, in *SIG.* 955. 30 *δ.π. ἀν ἐνεχυράσῃται ἢ εἰσπράξῃται*. The phrase *ἐνεχυρασίαν ποιῆσθαι*, used in [Dem.] xlvii. 76, recurs in an Imperial rescript to Pergamum, *OGI.* 484. 41, 46, 59 (cf. 30); in the law of the Pergamene *astynomi* we have *οἱ ἀποδοῦναι . . . πείθεσθαι ἐνεχυρασίαν πρὸς τοῖς ἀστυνόμοις* (*OGI.* 483. 82). In Roussel, *Culte d'Égypte*, 206 451] *πρω* *πῶς* [β]ουλόμενοι *ἐνεχυράσῃν αὐτῶν* is a very probable restoration. Cf. *RE.* v. 2567.

<sup>92</sup> To the examples cited in *LS.* s.v. *ἐθύνω* III. 2 add *Pap. Tch.* 53. 22, *Gnomon*, 62. 63, 79, 99, *A. Peyron, Pap. Græc.* I. 3. 10.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Wilhelm, *OJh.* xii. 128 f., *SIG.* 975. 23 (Delos), *OGI.* 665. 30, *BCH.* lvii. 497, *SEG.* vi. 682. A striking parallel to our phrase is 75 84

*προσάγγελος[τι] διδασθαι τοῦ εἰσπραχῆ]ντος τὸ ἡμισυ* (*SIG.* 1157. 84).

<sup>94</sup> Why *εἰσαγγελία* is used in l. 84 instead of *προσάγγελία* (cf. II. 83, 86) I cannot say.

<sup>95</sup> In l. 58 *μήτε ἰδιώτης μήτε ἀρχόντι* must mean 'neither private member nor official,' and in the decree of the Rhodians *Ἀλιόδοι καὶ Ἀλιεῖται* we have the phrase *μήτε ἀρχόντι μήτε ἰδιώταις* (*JG.* xii(1). 155. 97), in which *ἀρχων* certainly denotes guild-official (cf. II. 20, 29, 71, 86, 99 and Poland, 361†\*). Somewhat different is the use of *ἰδιώτης* in the law of the *ἀργαῖοις* of Bendis (*JG.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1361. 4; cf. Poland, 422).

<sup>96</sup> See Larfeld, *Gr. Epigr.* 426 f., *Handbuch*, i. 545 f., ii. 827 ff.

<sup>97</sup> In *JG.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 950. 20, 987. 2, 997. 6, 1011. 62, 1231. 15, *SEG.* i. 330B 23 *τόδε* is omitted.



variant of ἀνασθέντω or (ἀνα)στησάτω,<sup>98</sup> as is τέλοςμα (l. 92) of ἀνάλωμα.<sup>99</sup> The restoration ἀν[λῆι in l. 91 is almost certain (cf. l. 23), but the reading and restoration of the following passage present difficulties I have been unable to surmount. In l. 91 the damage to the surface of the stone has destroyed some 12 to 14 letters after ἀν[λῆι: then comes τὸν ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Φαιδρίου ΕΑΑ, followed possibly by one more letter. In l. 92 I read, with grave hesitation, . . . ΟΑΙΩΙΙΠ, after which 7 to 10 letters are lost before τὸ δὲ εἰς], which may be regarded as an almost certain restoration. That ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Φαιδρίου forms part of the phrase ἐν τ. ἐ. Φ. (ἄρχοντος) ἐνιαυτῷ<sup>100</sup> can hardly be doubted, but in the letters which follow Phaedrias' name I can find no trace either of ἄρχοντος or of ἐνιαυτῷ, and I am driven perforce to the belief that once again the engraver has been at fault. Before I had deciphered the τὸν of l. 91, I submitted my reading to the authority of Dr. P. Roussel, who proposed as a possible restoration ἐν τῇ ἀν[λῇ ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς] ἐν τῷ ἐ. Φ. [ἄρχοντος ἐνιαυτῷ προεφηφισμένοις], citing for this last word l. 9 of our decree and for ἀκολουθῶς Durrbach, *Choix*, 83. 33. This probably represents the true sense, and I hesitate between two courses, (a) to suppose that after ἀν[λῇ came some other word and then a phrase like κατὰ] τὸν ἐν τῷ ἐ. Φ. [ἄ. ἐ. κυρωθέντα νόμον], or (b) to regard τὸν as an error for τοῖς, and to restore ἀκολουθῶς] το(ῖς) ἐ. τ. ἐ. Φ. [ἄ. ἐ. ψηφισθεῖσιν τὸ δὲ εἰς]: with the definite date here given the aorist ψηφισθεῖσιν (cf. l. 4) seems to me more probable than the perfect προεφηφισμένοις. The last word of the decree is in all probability ἀργυροσταμίαι (cf. l. 70), though I admit that there are on the stone marks which might indicate a word ending in -κες; on the whole, however, I think that these are accidental.

The mention of Phaedrias, archon of Athens about 153/2 B.C.,<sup>101</sup> is interesting, though his date is not precisely determined. Whether any of the restorations above suggested is correct or not, there is a *prima facie* case for dating the Cairness decree not long after the year referred to, say in the 140's B.C., and thus for assigning the construction of the Poseidoniasts' establishment at Delos to an earlier date than that, *ca.* 110 B.C., which has hitherto been regarded as probable.

## II

AN AGONISTIC INSCRIPTION FROM ORCHOMENUS (*IG.* vii. 3197)

Among the many valuable inscriptions discovered on the site of Boeotian Orchomenus, not the least interesting are three lists recording victories won, probably in the early part of the first century B.C.,<sup>102</sup> at the Charitesia,

<sup>98</sup> Larfeld, *Gr. Epigr.* 410 ff., 426, *Handbuch*, i. 334 ff., 345, ii. 695 ff., 827 f.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. *SIG.* 570. 26 δότω δ ταμίαι τὸ γινόμενον τέλοςμα *IG.* xii(7). 228. 26 τὸ δὲ γ. τ. δότωσαν αἱ ταμίαι, *SIG.* 722. 6 τὸ δὲ τ. αἱ ταμίαι δίδονται.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. *IG.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1338. 13, 1343. 13, 16, 19, 21, 24, *BCH.* xxxvi. 413 (Delos), etc. In *BCH.* liii. 339 we have the variant ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ ἐπὶ Ἀγαπηδόντος.

<sup>101</sup> *IG.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 958. 3, 39, *BCH.* xxix. 533, xxxi. 423 (= Michel, 1531 = Durrbach, *Choix*, 60), ii. 3, 16:

cf. Roussel, *Delos col. ath.* 396 ff. He is dated 155/4 or 154/3 by Kirchner (*IG.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 958, ii<sup>2</sup> (4), p. 20), 153/2-149/8 by Ferguson (*Ath. Tribal Cycle*, 169; cf. *Ath. Archons*, 67 f.), 153/2 or 152/1 by Kolbe (*Ath. Archons*, 109), 153/2-151/0 by Roussel (*op. cit.* 359) and Durrbach (*Choix*, p. 129), 153/2 by Dimmock (*Archons of Athens*, 222, 265).

<sup>102</sup> E. Reisch, *De musicis Graecorum certaminibus*, 111 ff.





FIG. 1.—IG. vii. 3197, AT CAIRNESS HOUSE.

a musical festival celebrated in honour of the Graces (IG. vii. 3195-7).

The first of these has attracted special attention in virtue of its dialect, and has been republished by Michel (*Recueil*, 894) and by Schwyzler (*Dial. graec. exempla*, 529).<sup>103</sup> The other two contain the lists of successful competitors in the Charitesia and also in ὁ νεμητὸς ἀγὼν τῶν Ὀρχομενίων. To 3197 Dittenberger prefixed a full bibliography<sup>104</sup> and added the comment 'periisse videtur.' Its rediscovery at Cairness House, in almost perfect condition, calls for a few remarks.

The stele, cut from a bluish-grey marble, is 3 ft. 11 in. high, 1 ft. 3 in. broad, and 3 in. thick. Above the first line of the inscription is a plain moulding, 1½ in. broad. The surface is well preserved save for slight damage here and there to the left-hand margin, resulting in the loss of the initial letters of ll. 14, 19, 33 and 49, and a more serious breakage at the right-hand edge, which has carried away the concluding letters of ll. 19, 21 and 23. The letters, which in l. 1 are of an average height of about ¾ in., are clearly cut and ornamented by slight serifs (*Zierstriche*): faint horizontal guide-lines have been drawn, at least in the upper part of the inscription,<sup>105</sup> to assist the engraver. The letter-forms used are: A (with broken cross-bar) ΕΙΘΜ (with first and fourth strokes nearly vertical) ΕΟ (slightly smaller than the other letters) ΠΣ (with first and fourth strokes horizontal) Φ (with rather more than a semicircle on each side of the vertical stroke) Ψ (tall and narrow) Ω :

<sup>103</sup> I agree with Dittenberger (*IG.*, *loc. cit.*) that in l. 3 Εὐάρης τῶ should be retained in preference to Εὐαρ(υ)στῶ, suggested by Fick and favoured by Meister (*SGDI.* i. p. 393), and to Εὐαρ(ι)στῶ, proposed by Larfeld (*Syll. Inscr. Boeot.* 32). Εὐάρμοστος and Εὐάριστος are unknown in Boeotia, whereas Εὐάρης and Εὐάρβας are attested by other Orchomenian inscriptions (IG. vii. 3172. 11, 3215: cf. 1752. 17).

<sup>104</sup> For the reference to the first edition of Clarke we may substitute E. D. Clarke, *Travels in various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa* (London, 1818), vii. 203 ff. Add W. M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, ii. 632, where a copy in minuscules is given.

<sup>105</sup> I cannot see any trace of them below l. 39 of the inscription.



B and P are frequently very narrow. Ll. 27, 31 are engraved in *rasura*.

Dittenberger has rightly rejected the errors of Meletius' copy, which he records in his *varietas lectionum* under ll. 7, 9, 10, 13, 16, 18, 24, 25 ('Αμηνίος), 37, 38, 39, 43. In l. 12 ΚΡΗΣ reaches the right-hand margin of the stone, leaving no room for further letters: nor are there any traces of letters above (see notes on ll. 19, 49, 52). Thus Meletius and Koehler are here vindicated, and Clarke's error in writing ΚΡΗΣΑΙΟΣ may be attributed to the ΑΙΟΣ with which ll. 8, 10 end. We must therefore abandon K. Keil's position, who retained Κρησαῖος and regarded it as the ethnic of the Paphlagonian city of Κρήσσα (*Syll. Inscr. Boeot.* p. 58), as well as Dittenberger's ingenious emendation Κρής 'Α(ξ)ίος (*Hermes*, xvi. 170).<sup>100</sup> In l. 19 the last two letters were written above the preceding ΝΙ (now lost) owing to lack of space: Clarke has ΚΑΛΧΗΔΟΝΟΣ. At the end of l. 21 ΙΟΣ, indicated by dotted letters in Clarke's copy, has perished. In l. 23 the final letters ΟΣ, also dotted by Clarke, have all but disappeared. In l. 25 Clarke's ΔΕΜΟ must be a mere typographical error; ΔΗΜΟ, as read by Meletius, is plain. The initial Κ of l. 31 is clearly legible. In l. 33 Meletius' 'Αριστωνος, rejected by Dittenberger in favour of Clarke's 'Αριστίωνος, is correct, even though the same name is written 'Αριστίωνος in l. 52 (see below). In ll. 49, 52 the final ΟΣ is engraved above the preceding ΑΙ. We may note the inconsistency of spelling shewn in the inscription: ποιητής is written in ll. 9, 24, ποιητής in ll. 28, 32, 51, while words ending in -φδός, -φδιών are written ΩΔ in ll. 7, 13, 18, ΩΔ from l. 20 onwards.

Of the Charitesia,<sup>107</sup> the epigraphical evidence for which is confined to *IG.* iii. 115, vii. 3195-7, the most recent discussion known to me is that by I. C. Ringwood, *Agonistic Features of Local Greek Festivals*, 39 f. The same writer has also dealt with the Homoloia (*op. cit.* 40),<sup>108</sup> named in *IG.* vii. 48, 3196-7. I am not convinced by the arguments, adduced by Nilsson and approved by Jessen, in favour of attributing the Homoloia to Thebes. The sole surviving records of the festival are those discovered at Orchomenus, and no Theban inscription even refers to it: the fact that, according to the scholiast on Theocritus (vii. 103), Aristodemus δ Θηβαῖος discussed the festival is far from being conclusive.

Of the victors whose names are recorded in *IG.* vii. 3197 several recur elsewhere. Phantias of Aeolian Cyme (l. 16) was victorious on another occasion in the Charitesia (*IG.* vii. 3196. 15). Rhodippus of Argos (ll. 14, 45) was also successful at the Ptoia (*BCH.* xlv. 251). Aminias<sup>109</sup> and Callistratus of Thebes (ll. 10, 23, 25) won victories at the festival of Amphiarus at Oropus (*IG.* vii. 419. 14, 34). Sophocles of Athens (l. 29) is named as one of the satyric poets belonging to the Athenian company

<sup>100</sup> For such double ethnics cf. M. Van der Mijnsbrugge, *The Cretan Kairon*, 33.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Preller-Robert, *Griech. Mythol.* i. 481, O. Kern in *RE.* iii. 2167, O. Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol.* i. 81, W. M. Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, 413, L. R. Farnell,

*Greek Cults*, v. 426 ff.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Nilsson, *op. cit.* 12 f., Jessen in *RE.* viii. 2263, A. B. Cook, *Ztw.* ii. 900.

<sup>109</sup> [Δ]ημοδῆς 'Αμινίου Θηβαῖος (*IG.* vii. 416. 10) is probably either his father or his son.



of Dionysiac τεχνίται honoured by Delphi (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iii(2). 48 (= *SIG.* 711*L*) 35). Alexander, son of Ariston (ll. 33, 52), was the ἐπιμελητής and ἀρχιθέωρος of that guild (*inscr. cit.* 3, 15, 47, *Fouilles de Delphes*, iii(2). 49 (= *SIG.* 728*K*) 1), and the Delphian evidence proves that in l. 52 of the Orchomenian inscription the form Ἀριστίων must be corrected to Ἀρίστων, which is actually found on the stone in l. 33 (see above).<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Νουμήνιος Ἀλεξάνδρου (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iii (2). 47 (= *SIG.* 698) 7, 26) and Θόας Νουμηνίου (*Fouilles*, iii(2). 48 (= *SIG.* 711*L*) 35) were almost certainly

members of the same family as the Νουμήνιος Νουμηνίου of the Orchomenian list (l. 8). On the τεχνίται see Poland, *RE* VA. 2473 ff.



# A BRONZE HERAKLES IN THE BENAKI MUSEUM AT ATHENS

[PLATE VII.]

THE statuette illustrated in Fig. 1 and Pl. VII was recently acquired for his Museum by Mr. A. Benaki, who has kindly allowed me to publish it. There are, as everyone knows, many bronzes of this sort, most of them representing either Herakles or Zeus; but a glance at our illustrations, which inevitably do not do full justice to the original, will shew that the new example has few rivals in this series, and few in the whole company of contemporary bronzes. I doubt if there is in existence a figure more characteristic of the archaic conception of Herakles, of the hero as the ideal strong man, short, thickset, and naturally developed: *μόρφαν βράχυν ψυχάν δ' ἀκαμπτος προσπαλαίσιων ἦλθ' ἀνὴρ* . . . Pindar certainly had some such conception in mind when he wrote these words, within a year or two of the time when this statuette was made.

The new Herakles is three and five-eighths inches high, and is perfectly preserved except for the loss of part of the club, the bow (once held in the left hand, which is perforated), the right foot, and part of the tang below the left foot. It has a smooth dark green patina. The photographs make detailed description unnecessary, and it will be enough to call attention to a few points. The hair is rendered by a series of slight depressions, each surrounded by an engraved line; the same stylisation is used for the beard. The *linea alba* is rather harshly grooved, the view (Pl. VII, 2) giving a fair impression of the modelling in this area. The pubes has a few careless incisions. The wrinkles on the knuckles and toes are indicated by engraving; the finger- and toe-nails are indicated, likewise the sinews on the back of both hands. The mark above the nostril (Pl. VII, 1) is fortuitous. The tangs were certainly of the form shewn in Fig. 2.<sup>1</sup> The figure was found, according to evidence which there is good reason to believe reliable, at the Ptoan sanctuary; obviously, however, it is not Boeotian, but one of the many imported votives from the Ptoan sanctuary.<sup>2</sup>

The history of the motive of the Benaki Herakles has been well described by Karouzos in his publication of the statue from Artemisium.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As in the Zeus from Olympia (*Δελτ.* 1931, 57, fig. 12), the athlete from Ligourio (*Langlotz*, pl. 27, c), the Apollo from Naxos (*Berlin Kat.* I, no. 192), the Louvre Dionysus from Olympia (*Langlotz*, pl. 4), the Athena from the Acropolis (*de Ridder*, 796), and an Arcadian bronze in Boston: cf. *Neugebauer*, *Berlin Kat.* p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Corinthian pottery from Ptoon, *BCH.* 1892, 360, 368; Peloponnesian bronzes, Louvre 143 (*de Ridder*, pl. 16); Athens 7389 (*BCH.* 1888, pl. 10; *Lamb*, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, pl. 35, 2: compare, for the

face, *BSA.* XXXII, pl. 15, 7 from the Argive Heraeum); Attic statues *BCH.* 1888, pls. 7, 13-14; Karouzos, *Τὸ Μουσείο τῆς Θέβης*, figs. 4-6; and bases *BCH.* 1920, 226-7; Karouzos, *l.c.* fig. 13 and p. 18. The bronzes *BCH.* 1886, pls. 8-9; 1887, pls. 10; 11, 1; 12 I take to be Boeotian, though *Langlotz* attributes the first to Argos; pl. 11, 3 is probably a Boeotian copy of Corinthian; compare the Corinthian lions from Perachora III. *London News*, Nov. 15, 1930, 869, fig. 5, and July 8, 1933, 67, fig. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Δελτ.* 1930-1, 41 ff.



I need not repeat Karouzos's conclusions, but will confine myself to a few observations on the style of the new example, and to a suggestion of its relations to some contemporary works. Its individuality may perhaps be most easily emphasised if it be set beside some other Peloponnesian bronze of about the same date. For this purpose we can hardly do better than choose the Herakles from Perachora (Fig. 2), which is a little, but not very much, earlier, and which presents interesting contrasts, both in composition and in form.



FIG. 1.—HERAKLES IN THE BENAKI MUSEUM.



FIG. 2.—HERAKLES FROM PERACHORA, IN ATHENS.

The Herakles from Perachora is constructed on a simple plan, according to which the various parts of the body are shewn either in frontal or in lateral view. Thus, while the trunk is frontal, the head is thrust so sharply to one side that it is virtually parallel in plane with the trunk and arms; the raised hand is so turned that the club lay parallel with the arms and almost touched the back of the head.<sup>1</sup> One leg is exactly frontal, the other exactly lateral. The coming twist of the body is fore-

<sup>1</sup> Compare the Oppermann Herakles, where the whole club is preserved (Bulle, *Der schöne Mensch*,<sup>2</sup> 55, fig. 37; Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 351 a; Karouzos,

p. 56); the hole in the hand of the Perachora Herakles proves the position of the club to have been as described above.



told not by any transition within the body itself, but by this simple juxtaposition of frontal and lateral parts, which implies a momentary tension immediately to be resolved when the right arm and leg follow round in the direction of the blow. We have here a perfectly effective (and, incidentally, almost precisely accurate) expression of the movement in question, based on antithesis of the parts within the whole; and this is the principle to be seen in most archaic figures of the kind.<sup>5</sup>

In the Benaki Herakles the motive is the same, and the figure bears a strong outward resemblance to the other, but there are important differences in composition. For instance, the poise is by no means the same as in the Perachora Herakles: there, and in nearly all archaic versions of this type, there is a distinct forward thrust of the body, the intention, and the effect, of which are to emphasise the impression of movement. Our artist has rejected this device, for the sake of the equilibrium of the figure; and so, though what is represented is merely a momentary phase of violent action, the body has complete stability, the stability of movement perfectly controlled. This even balance on the two legs is a clear anticipation of the classical rendering of the subject, as may be seen not only in the statue from Artemisium, but also in small bronzes of the early classical period.<sup>6</sup> It is one of several indications that the new bronze belongs to the end of the archaic age: in temperament, however, the figure is still thoroughly archaic.<sup>7</sup>

Again, the principle on which the scheme of the Perachora Herakles is based, the division of the figure into almost exactly frontal and lateral parts, is considerably modified in the new statuette: when the head is seen in profile, as in Pl. VII, 1, or Fig. 1, the body is in three-quarter, not in frontal view; the arms follow the plane of the body, not that of the head; the legs, as usual, are frontal and lateral when the body is seen from the front. The three-quartering of the body is an important point, which alters the whole character of the movement; and this is borne out by the position of the raised hand, which holds the club at right angles to the plane of the arms, not parallel to it, as in the Perachora Herakles. In other words, the figure is not composed in strict relation to one or other of two planes, the one parallel, the other at right angles, to the 'plane of vision'; the process of the action represented is more explicitly rendered, and the character of the figure is thereby changed. This

<sup>5</sup> For example: in the hoplite and in the Zeus (fig. 3) from Dodona, in Berlin (Neugebauer, *Führer*, pls. 8-9; Kekulé, pla. 2, 1; Richter, *Sculpture*, figs. 100-2); in the bronzes, *Δελτ.* 1930-1, 59, fig. 14; 61, fig. 16; 62, fig. 17; in the statue, *l.c.* pl. 1 ff., the essence of the scheme is still unchanged; near these, *l.c.* 57, fig. 12. There are important exceptions: the New York Herakles, fig. 4; the Oppermann Herakles (see last footnote); and others such as the Zeus from Ambracia (*Δελτ.* 1920-1, paratexts 170-1), the Hybrisas bronze (Neugebauer, *Ant. Bronze-statuetten*, fig. 27 [Petit Palais, not British Museum]), and *Δελτ.* 1930-1, figs. 11, 137, 15.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. *Δελτ.* 1931, 58, fig. 130; 62, fig. 17.

<sup>7</sup> The difference of temperament between the Benaki statuette and the Artemisium statue is as great as that of form. The classical sculptor was interested in action, not only for its own sake, but also as a symbol of his subject, as an attribute of the personality of the god; and for this reason the action has lost something of its immediate character, and approximates to gesture. Archaic art is free from symbolism of this kind; its motive is the immediate expression of simple ideas, and anyone can see that to the man who made the Benaki Herakles the idea of action was a sufficient inspiration—not a means to an end, but something complete within itself.



sacrifice of the tension on which archaic art, in such cases, usually relies for its effect, is compensated by the powerful rhythm which runs through the whole figure. Let me illustrate this by certain comparisons of detail. In the Perachora Herakles, the sideways thrust of the head, as I have pointed out, heightens the impression of movement, but the structural relation of the head to the body is not particularly studied. In the other, the neck thrusts forward from the shoulders (see Fig. 1), and there is an inevitable organic connexion between the two. Look



FIG. 3.—ZEUS FROM DODONA, IN BERLIN.

now for a moment at the Berlin Zeus (Fig. 3): obviously in this respect it stands by the Perachora, not by the Benaki Herakles; and that is true of the majority. This kind of structure, the offsetting of one part of the body against another, is one of the essential qualities of the style of the new bronze: it is admirably illustrated in Pl. VII, 1, in the contour of the back; in the outward thrust of the hip-muscles (Fig. 1, right contour), in the sharp contrast between the slanting surface of the chest and the vertical surface of the stomach. A study of the figure in this aspect, and then a glance at Figs. 2 and 3 will, I think, suffice to shew that this is no subjective judgment, but demonstrable fact. One might perhaps sum-



marise the difference by saying that in the Perachora Herakles the contours are kept as long, simple, and sinuous as possible, while in the Benaki Herakles they are resolved into a number of minor curves, each of which lays particular emphasis on the form which it contains.

And the forms of the new Herakles are indeed remarkable: massive, compact, but never oppressive as an artist of a later period, attempting by mere bulk to give an idea of great strength, might have made them.<sup>8</sup> The artist has gone to extremes in the matter of structural analysis, making of each surface a concrete, individual thing, and giving solidity to the figure as much by the number of strongly convex minor forms as by actual bulk. The trunk, as the sudden heavy shadow on the left side of Fig. 1 shews, is remarkably square, each of the four faces meeting in a well-defined angle; the lower part of the trunk is curiously compressed, the navel being placed very low. The curve across the chest is pronounced, far more so than, for example, in the Perachora Herakles or the Berlin Zeus, and is much more sharply offset against the muscles of the shoulders than in either of these figures; it is the keynote of the whole conception of the body as a compact, pseudo-cylindrical form. I have already referred to the offsetting of the neck against the body; there is no need to point out its massive form, or the clear transition at the collar-bones. The modelling of the legs shews up well enough in the photographs; let me comment only on the extraordinary emphasis on the vastus internus, best seen in Fig. 1, which is much less conspicuous in the other figures.

The late archaic series of figures to which our bronze belongs begins, as Karouzos has pointed out, with the Siphnian frieze and Andokidean vases. Karouzos places the New York bronze (Fig. 4) with these; it seems to me even earlier than this, though it has been dated in the fifth century.<sup>9</sup> I would substitute for it the Boeotian Herakles Berlin 206, Neugebauer, *Kat.* pl. 35. The Benaki Herakles falls into Karouzos's sixth group (p. 58), that of 490-80 B.C. The elaboration of the modelling and the history of the motive make an earlier date out of the question; indeed the very end of that decade may not be too late. Against a still later date we have decisive evidence in the whole treatment of the trunk, and in the markedly archaic stylisation of the face.

Let us now consider another feature of the new bronze, the inscription which is engraved on the left leg. This reads  $\text{?A}\epsilon\text{?A}\nabla\text{?H}$  (herakeas), written retrograde and without much skill. The eta rendered by B is the clue to the origin of the writer, for this letter is well known to be characteristically Corinthian, occurring only in the inscriptions of Corinth and her colonies.<sup>10</sup> Since this rule is based on a very great number of examples,

<sup>8</sup> And this oppressive quality is already to be seen in the Myronian Herakles Marotti, *Bottom Cat.* no. 64 (Lippold in *Antike Plastik*, 127 ff.).

<sup>9</sup> Richter, *Sculpture*, 49. The head seems to me to go admirably with heads of Amasean type, such as that of Dionysos on the amphora in the Cabinet des Médailles (Pfehl, fig. 220), and the treatment of the body is surely conceivable in that period. I would

suggest a date between 540 and 530.

<sup>10</sup> The only exceptions to this rule are given by three Attic vases nearly a hundred years older than this bronze, which are no doubt influenced by Corinthian models: New York, Casmola Coll., Myres 1729 (see *NC.* p. 126, n. 2), Berlin F 1704 (Payne, *NC.* p. 126, n. 2) and Louvre 66 (*CP.* III He. pl. 77, 8, on which see Beazley in *JHS.* 1933, 310).



we may be quite certain that the writer of the inscription had some connexion with Corinth. But we have still to answer the question, what of the relation of the inscription to the figure?

First let us note that the inscription is not dedicatory, as are nearly all inscriptions on bronzes, but descriptive. If it were a dedicatory inscription of the usual kind we should have no ground for stating that the bronze itself was Corinthian, though in the case of a great manufacturing centre like Corinth the probability that bronzes with Corinthian inscriptions are really of Corinthian origin might be said to be fairly strong. However



FIG. 4.—HERAKLES FROM MANTINEIA, IN NEW YORK.

that may be, our inscription is not dedicatory; herakeas is obviously miswritten for herakleas, the nominative of an otherwise unknown form of heraklees.<sup>11</sup> Leaving aside the form of the word, we may well ask how it came about that our bronze was inscribed with the name, not of the maker, dedicator, or recipient, but of the person represented. If it were inscribed with the maker's name, it would indeed be a rarity, as there seems to be only one signed bronze statuette known.<sup>12</sup> As it is, with a descriptive inscription,

<sup>11</sup> Theoretically we might read either ἡρακας or ἡρακας; but the last letter must be sigma, not iota, for the three-stroked iota was not in use at Corinth in the fifth century. It seems, moreover, most unlikely that Herakleas could take a dative Herakleai. A

dative, implying a dedication to Herakles, is further highly improbable in view of the discovery of the bronze at the Proan sanctuary.

<sup>12</sup> The Hybrisias bronze, Neugebauer, fig. 27.



it is unique. There are two possible hypotheses on which the inscription might be explained, and it seems to me impossible to decide with certainty between them. Either the owner or the artist might have written the inscription. The first hypothesis is, on the face of it, most unlikely; it is, after all, not a very easy matter to cut on a piece of solid bronze letters as deeply cut as these (and there is no question that the inscription was cut after the bronze was cast), and whoever cut them must have had a definite motive in mind. It is hard to imagine what motive the owner could have had. If the artist wrote it, the inscription is much more easily explained: for, as we know from hundreds of vases, an artist often felt his work incomplete, however obvious its subject, until he had added the name of the person represented. Thus, throughout the history of representational vase-painting gods and heroes whom everyone could recognise at a glance had their names written by them. (And this, it need hardly be added, was not done to instruct the ignorant; for we find not only people labelled, but things: an altar, a cauldron, a hydria, a chair, and so on; even Athena, on plaques made specially for dedication on the Athenian acropolis, is named, not only in the dative, in dedicatory inscriptions, but also in the nominative.<sup>13</sup>) The only explanation of this phenomenon is that the inscription was often felt necessary to complete the portrait:<sup>14</sup> and it is in the light of these inscriptions that possibly ours is to be explained: the inscription being wholly unnecessary, only the artist would have felt the need to put it on the bronze.<sup>15</sup> It will at once be said that the artist would have been the last person to disfigure his work by writing on it, and by writing in this clumsy hand; but that, I think, is at least debatable. The archaic Greeks were thoroughly accustomed to writing on statues and statuettes, and evidently did not find it disfiguring. Had it been thought to be so, would it not have been confined to the bases? Every statue and statuette must have had a base, yet in many cases it is the figure, not the base, that is inscribed. For a good example, look at the Artemis Daidaleia in Boston,<sup>16</sup> which has a stepped base on which an inscription might easily have been written. And there are plenty of other examples. Evidently inscriptions on statues and statuettes were not considered deleterious. It might further be objected that an artist such as the maker of the Benaki Herakles would not write with so clumsy a hand. But this objection is equally invalid; Corinth provides a good analogy in Timonidas, who, after painting a plaque with irreproachable skill and precision, scrawled his signature down the centre of the field in a hand worthy of the worst painters.<sup>17</sup> After all, style in writing may well depend on interest, and interest may only develop with occasion; a man who draws or models all his life and rarely needs to write, may easily produce a paradox like that

<sup>13</sup> Graef, *Akropolisvasen*, pl. 109, 2587; pl. 110, 2591.

<sup>14</sup> No one would seriously maintain that inscriptions were put on vases as decoration; true, they are sometimes decorative, on black-figure vases; but to call red-figure inscriptions decorative would, in the great majority of cases, be grotesque.

<sup>15</sup> I know of only one instance of the name of

the person represented on a vase written by anyone other than the artist: that is on the Attic sherd *JHS*. 1929, pl. 16, 16 and p. 261.

<sup>16</sup> Neugebauer, *Ant. Bronze-statuetten*, figs. 18-19; for an inscription on a similar base, compare Berlin no. 180, *Kat.* pl. 28.

<sup>17</sup> Pfuhl, fig. 182.



of the Timonidas plaque or the Benaki bronze. Whatever the explanation, the fact of the plaque remains. But I do not claim to prove that the inscription was written by the man who made the bronze. I am concerned merely to shew that, improbable as it may at first seem, much can be said in favour of that view.

As I have said, the form of the name is unique, for even in Doric and Aeolic Herakles was always Herakles and never Heraklas. The inscription merely shews that we have something to learn about the possible forms of the name; a year or two ago we learnt that people said  $\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\sigma\sigma\epsilon$  as well as  $\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon$ .<sup>17</sup> Long since it was conjectured, by Corssen, that the Etruscan form Hercla implied a Greek form Heraklas; the conjecture, since discredited, was evidently right.<sup>18</sup>

There is one last point in which the inscription is unusual: in it eta and epsilon are rendered not, as regularly in Corinthian, by the same sign B, but by B and E. E, of course, normally = epsilon-iota in Corinthian inscriptions, but there are examples of it used for epsilon: the Chelidon metope from Thermon,<sup>19</sup> and several pinakes from Penteskouphia (*NC.* pp. 142, n. 1, and 158); and of the use of B and E for the same value in one word we have an example in the pinax Berlin F 667 (*AD.* II, pl. 30, 9; *NC.* p. 158), where  $\epsilon\mu\epsilon$  is written  $\epsilon\mu\beta$ .<sup>20</sup> There is therefore nothing uncorinthian about the writing on the bronze.<sup>21</sup>

The inscription then may be said to create a probability that the Benaki Herakles is Corinthian, but no one could seriously say that it proves this. Let us see whether the style throws any light on the problem of origin.

The difficulties with which this inquiry confronts us appear to me to be twofold: on the one hand, the style of our bronze has no exact parallel among existing works; on the other, despite many illuminating observations in Langlotz's book, we cannot yet be said to have a clear picture of the local sculptural styles of the Peloponnese. That our Herakles is Peloponnesian I do not for a moment doubt; I would go still further and exclude certain regions of the Peloponnese. Argos inevitably suggests itself, for the style and physical type are certainly those from which Polycleitan sculpture sprung.

The two groups of Peloponnesian bronzes which at present have the most clearly intelligible individuality are the Laconian,<sup>22</sup> (with a distinc-

<sup>17</sup> *JHS.* 1933, 282-3.

<sup>18</sup> As to the termination in -eas: names normally ending in -ea are found to end in -eas in various districts of Greece—in Thessaly, Phocis, Boeotia, Aetolia (Buck, *Gr. Dialects*, § 166, 1), and, as the inscription quoted in the last footnote shews, in Ithaca also. Since our inscription is in the Corinthian alphabet, we must infer either that the forms in -eas were in use at Corinth (which is not impossible), or that the writer of the inscription came from one of the districts mentioned above and settled at Corinth. In any case the termination in -eas throws no light on the origin of the bronze. On the forms of the name, see the detailed article in *RE* s.v.

<sup>19</sup> Pfuhl, fig. 481 (*AD.* II, pl. 50, 1).

<sup>20</sup> Professor Zahn has kindly verified the reading for me and informs me that it is quite certain; it is wrongly given in Furtwängler's catalogue, rightly in *AD.*

<sup>21</sup> Cf. also the confused inscription on the Peiraion pinax, *NC.* p. 159.

<sup>22</sup> Langlotz's Laconian group is by far the most convincing of his several Peloponnesian categories, and, with one or two modifications of detail, will certainly stand the test of future discoveries. It is the only one which rests on a considerable series of local finds.



tive provincial subdivision in Messenia),<sup>23</sup> and the Arcadian.<sup>24</sup> We may exclude both of these, and we may also exclude the western Peloponnese, which, if it had a local style, was certainly under Laconian and Arcadian influence. The cities in the plains of the north-east Peloponnese were the great progressive centres, in which sculpture comparable in quality to our Herakles was done. Unfortunately, for various reasons, we know much less of Argos, Corinth and Sicyon than of Laconia and Arcadia, and if we can form an idea at least of certain Argive and Corinthian styles, we cannot yet



FIG. 5.—BOY FROM MEGALOPOLIS, IN ATHENS.

draw up anything like a comprehensive list of Argive or Corinthian, still less of Sicyonian, works.

Langlotz's Argive group consists of fifty works in various materials, but it contains many doubtful elements.<sup>25</sup> This is inevitable, for although,

<sup>23</sup> E.g. *Δότ.* 1916, 109, figs. 53, 55. Recent discoveries in Messenia confirm the existence of a Messenian subdivision: cf. p. 190 of this number of the *Journal*.

<sup>24</sup> See next footnote.

<sup>25</sup> The principal error appears to me to be the inclusion of Arcadians, most of whom, as their unmistakably 'peasant' character, to say nothing of

their provenances, shews, must be the work of local Arcadian artists: cf. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, 86, n. 1. Further, the attribution of the clay head *Arg. Herakles*, II. 37 nos. 212-13 (Langlotz, pl. 22, 3, *BSA.* XXXII, pl. 13, 5) to Sicyon is undoubtedly wrong, as Jenkins, *BSA. l.c.* p. 30, remarks; this and others like it from the Argive Heraeum are certainly Argive. The greater part of the Argive list



from several lines of indirect evidence, we can form a general view of the character of archaic and early classical Argive sculpture we do not know enough from direct evidence, from inscriptions, or from discoveries in the Argolid, to construct a convincing list of actual Argive works. Thus of the many male figures in Langlotz's list, one (Kleobis) is known to be Argive, and one comes from the Argolid: some, but not all, of the rest look forward to the style of Polycleitus. Although, therefore, several details of the Benaki Herakles can best be paralleled in bronzes which Langlotz attributes to Argos, it is, in my view, inadmissible to regard such parallels as proof of Argive origin.<sup>26</sup> One solid connexion with Argos lies in the physical type of the new Herakles. The physical type preferred by Argive sculptors we know, in general terms, from evidence which is sufficiently convincing: from the known characteristics of classical Argive sculpture, and from the evidence of two works which we can definitely connect (though on different grounds) with Argos—the group of Kleobis and Biton, and the athlete from Ligourio. The short stature and massive forms of the Benaki Herakles fit admirably into the picture founded on this evidence, and give reason to suppose a connexion with Argive art. The style is not like that of the Ligourio bronze, but if one thinks of Polycleitus it is easy to imagine that it may be Argive. Those who accept Langlotz's Argive group as a whole would, I imagine, hesitate to add the new Herakles to it, for it has a stylistic quality which Langlotz himself implies to be foreign to that group,<sup>27</sup> an extraordinarily precise and emphatic analysis of the muscular surface of the body. Whether however Langlotz is right in his view that pre-classical Argive sculpture was free from this kind of thing I very greatly doubt: in my opinion the New York Herakles (Fig. 4), which shews, in magnificent caricature, the physical type of the Benaki Herakles, also shews an analogous attempt to resolve the body into clearly delimited masses of muscle. No one would say that classical Argive sculpture was soft. It seems certain then that in the intervening period Argos produced works of strongly analytic character.

It is possible, therefore, that the Benaki Herakles is Argive. But that

consists of works which certainly illustrate Langlotz's conception of Argive character, but which cannot be said to be certainly Argive: only the draped female types are directly connected with Argos by a large body of local finds (terracottas from the Heraeum, from Tiryns, and from graves at Argos itself).

<sup>26</sup> The only close parallel for the rendering of the hair (depressions and spirals) is given by the Louvre Herakles from Mantinea (Langlotz, pl. 30, b). The spirals recur on the boy from Megalopolis (fig. 5), which, though a little later, resembles the Benaki Herakles in the form of the chest and trunk (compare the view, pl. VII, a), though, of course, the modelling is much less detailed. For a later and freer version of the hair cf. the Lapith from the west pediment at Olympia (Schrader, *Phaidas*, 165, fig. 145). For the 'cap' of hair coming down very low over the forehead, cf. several 'Argive' bronzes (Langlotz, p. 62). For the shortness of the trunk, compare Kleobis and

the New York Herakles, fig. 4 (better seen, for this purpose, in Langlotz, pl. 27, b). Kleobis naturally brings us into direct contact with Argos, and the New York bronze, which comes from Mantinea, is so far superior in technique and elaboration to the average archaic work from Arcadia that Langlotz may well be right in calling it Argive: it is in the same class (in respect of quality) as the two magnificent kriophoroi in Boston (Langlotz, pls. 2 and 20, a), neither of which is Arcadian in the ordinary sense of the word. In a private collection in Athens, from Argos, is a fragment of a third 'Arcadian' of this group. Among classical bronzes, I find a distinct analogy to the body of the Benaki Herakles in the fine bronze from Tegea, at Mount Holyoke in America (*AJA.* 1929, pl. 4; Karouzos, p. 79, n. 1).

<sup>27</sup> P. 65, reference to Argive 'Vorliebe für grosse, weich ineinander übergehende, wenig bewegte Flächen'; cf. also p. 62.



is not to say that it must be. After all, do we know that in Corinth or Sicyon sculpture never approximated to Argive style? To believe that would certainly simplify the problem of classification, but there is specific evidence, apart from general probability, to preclude such an idea.

From the geometric period onwards Argos and Corinth (I omit Sicyon, of which we know nothing directly) were in close and constant relation with each other. At the Corinthian sanctuary in Perachora, Argive geometric works—vases, models of buildings, seals<sup>28</sup>—have been discovered in great numbers, and conversely in the Argolid, above all at the Argive Heraeum, Protocorinthian objects were regularly dedicated. This connexion is illustrated, for the early orientalising period, in a particularly interesting fashion by the discovery at Perachora of a clay plaque which was made in the same mould as a plaque from the Argive Heraeum.<sup>29</sup> The Argive connexion, however, lasted at least throughout the sixth century: there are many Argive terracottas of that date from Perachora,<sup>29</sup> and conversely many Corinthian, and many Corinthian vases, from the Argolid. Even apart from the Perachora excavations there is much evidence of the same kind: an Argive geometric vase from a tomb at Corinth, and many Argive terracottas; bronze reliefs, long called Argive-Corinthian, which were apparently made at Corinth,<sup>30</sup> in part by Argive workmen; a Corinthian crater, with an Argive inscription.<sup>31</sup> In view of all this it is certain that though there must have been distinctive Argive and Corinthian sculptural styles, there must also have been interchange of ideas, leading in some cases to fusion. To deny this is, in my opinion, to make of the history of art an abstract and schematic structure unrelated to the world of experience.

It may well appear that I must now go on to admit the impossibility of distinguishing Argive and Corinthian works. That, however, would be an exaggeration of the conclusion to which the evidence leads us; there were certainly separate sculptural traditions, as the terracottas alone prove; and probably when we know more from discoveries in each region we shall be able to distinguish even the apparently hybrid products of the two schools. The first necessity is to formulate some conception of Corinthian sculptural style, to balance our conception of Argive. And for this purpose we have a good deal of evidence. Corinth itself has produced a number of bronzes; most of those which in any way concern us here are Aphrodite-mirrors, and there is a small but useful collection from Perachora. Now there is no question whatever that Corinth was a very great centre of bronze work in the archaic, as we know, from literary evidence, that it was in the classical period; and we must interpret the finds from the Corinthia in the light of this knowledge. We must be prepared to believe, what the finds tell us, that Corinth was the home of a variety of styles, all, perhaps, related, but not by any means uniform. We must not expect a simple picture, like that of Laconian, or Arcadian bronze work. Langlotz's

<sup>28</sup> Many of the early bronze pins are identical in every detail with examples from Argos, and some must be Argive.

<sup>29</sup> *JHS.* 1932, 242; *Ill. London News*, 8th July, 1932.—VOL. LIV,

1933.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Jenkins in *BSA.* XXXII, 23 ff.

<sup>31</sup> *NC.* p. 222 ff., and p. x.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 33, 5.



picture of Corinth is logical in the sense that it follows well enough from his conception of the neighbouring schools—Argos, Sicyon, and 'Cleonae'; but if that be rejected, it has little hope of independent existence. The evidence appears to me to point to the view that part, at least, of the Corinthian category can be reconstructed on the basis of actual discoveries in the Corinthia, and I hope elsewhere to prove on this evidence that some of the bronzes which have been attributed to the neighbouring schools are, in fact, Corinthian. That is a wide problem which cannot be discussed here, and it must suffice to make one observation which is relevant to the subject of this paper: precise and detailed analysis of form, combined with a very strong sense of structure—both qualities which are essential in the style of the Benaki Herakles—are characteristic of much Corinthian work, and constitute a connexion, admittedly of a general kind, with Corinth.

The problem of the Benaki Herakles may perhaps be summarised as follows. The style seems to be Argive (though we have little exact knowledge of Argive sculpture at this time); the inscription is Corinthian (but we do not know who wrote it, and even if it is the artist's work, it would not absolutely prove his origin: cf. *NC.* p. 39); the dialect is central- or west-Greek (neither Corinthian nor Argive). There is, then, an apparent conflict of evidence, and though it is easy to cover the evidence by one or other of several hypotheses no one can at present demonstrate the validity of any one of these. I incline to the view that Argos is the original home of the style illustrated by the Benaki bronze, but think that the figure may actually be the work of a Corinthian artist. The dialect of the inscription indicates that the writer, whether owner or artist, had some connexion with central or western Greece. The problem, however, is at present insoluble, though not, perhaps, for that reason the less worth studying.<sup>32</sup>

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#### ADDENDUM.

M. P. Guillon (who is in charge of the new excavations at the Ptoan sanctuary) has kindly informed me that he considers the reputed provenance of this bronze highly doubtful; Ptoon, he tells me, has recently been given as the provenance of a good many bronzes, some of which are not even ancient.

<sup>32</sup> I have to thank Professor Beazley, Dr. Kunze and Mrs. Wade-Gery for their kindness in reading the

above in proof, and for several valuable suggestions.



## A VOLUTE KRATER AT TARANTO<sup>1</sup>

[PLATES VIII, IX.]

IN April 1898 at Ceglie<sup>2</sup> near Bari there was discovered a large tomb,<sup>3</sup> the principal contents of which consisted of a number of vases, some entire but most of them in a fragmentary condition, which were later acquired by the Taranto Museum, where they now are.<sup>4</sup> Two of these vases, both large volute kraters, on account of the great interest of the subjects and of the general excellence of their composition and drawing, are of the highest importance for the study of early South Italian pottery and it seems surprising that they have remained so long unpublished, despite an ever-increasing amount of literature about them. One, published earlier in the present year,<sup>5</sup> depicts (a) seated Dionysus surrounded by his followers and (b) on the upper register, Perseus terrifying the silens with the Gorgon's head, and below, dancers at the festival of the Karneia. The other vase (Plates VIII, IX)<sup>6</sup> is even more richly figured as it has separate scenes on the neck as well. Its obverse shews (i) a scene from the fight between the Centaurs and Lapiths, (ii) the birth of Dionysus; and the reverse, (i) Herakles served by silens, (ii) an Amazonomachy. Two are subjects common in the repertory of the vase painter, two are rare.

The Birth of Dionysus, unlike its counterpart the Birth of Athena, never seems to have been a very popular subject with the vase painter, nor for that matter with the great painters, as the elder Pliny<sup>7</sup> can give us only one reference to such a painting, and that is a parody of the scene by an artist named Ctesilochus. The representation of this subject on vases<sup>8</sup> falls into two main types—(a) the actual emergence of Dionysus

<sup>1</sup> I am greatly indebted to Prof. R. Bartoccini, Director of the Museo Nazionale in Taranto, for sending me photographs of this and other unpublished vases in the Museum, and allowing me to publish them. Also I would like to thank Prof. A. B. Cook for reading through this paper and bringing several new points to my notice, as well as giving me access to his unpublished material; and Mr. André Kenny for much help and advice.

<sup>2</sup> The ancient town of Caelia; see *RE*. III. i, 1252.

<sup>3</sup> Quagliati, *NSc.* 1900, p. 504.

<sup>4</sup> Cases 93, 95, 165, 166.

<sup>5</sup> Wullemnier, *RA.* 1933, ii, pp. 3-30, where bibliography. Add Philippart, *Collections de la Ceramique en Italie*, 2, p. 68.

<sup>6</sup> Case 165, Ceglie 109. Large volute krater with swan's-head handles, lit. 77 cm.; repaired and restored, with a good deal of surface repainting on

handles and neck. Traces of gilding. Bibliography:—Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland*, p. 72, n. 4; Moon, *BSR.* 1929, p. 39; Wullemnier, *RA.* 1929, ii, p. 202 and 1931, i, p. 250; Quagliati, *op. cit.* p. 506, no. 7; *Il Museo Nazionale di Taranto*, p. 25; Philippart, *op. cit.* p. 68, no. 3; Watzinger, *FR.* iii, p. 348, n. 13.

<sup>7</sup> *N. H.* xxxv, 140: Ctesilochus, Apellis discipulus, petulanti picura innotuit Ioue Liberum parturiente depicto mitrato et muliebriter ingemesciente inter opaterica deorum. Cf. Sellers' note *ad loc.* in her edition of Pliny's chapters on painting.

<sup>8</sup> Heydemann, *Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1885, p. 13; Wullemnier, *RA.* 1929, ii, p. 204; Walters, *Hist. Anc. Pottery*, vol. 2, p. 19, n. 2; p. 35, n. 20; Greifenhagen, *RM.* 46, p. 27. A fuller account of this subject will be found in the third volume of Prof. Cook's *Zens*, p. 79.



from the thigh of Zeus and (b) Dionysus, completely emerged from the thigh, and standing upon it, like a small edition of his grown-up self. It is this latter type which comes first chronologically, and this we may parallel from the Birth of Athena,<sup>9</sup> which probably provided the inspiration for our subject. Of type (a), apart from the vase here published, there are three examples:—

- (1) A r.f. lekythos in Boston<sup>10</sup> on which only the head of Dionysus is yet visible, and Zeus eases his thigh as if to assist the delivery.
- (2) A r.f. fragment in Bonn<sup>10a</sup>, shewing Dionysus half emerged from the thigh of



FIG. 1.—VASE-FRAGMENT IN BONN.

Zeus, and stretching out his hands to another figure standing to the right, of whom only the drapery which conceals the right arm is left (Fig. 1).

- (3) A South Italian amphora, now lost, but the design of which is preserved in a crude drawing.<sup>11</sup> This vase affords the closest parallel to the Taranto one, as it shews Dionysus almost emerged from the thigh of Zeus, who is seated between Eileithyia and a maenad and a silen; below is Athena with two maenads.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. a b.f. vase at Würzburg shewing Athena standing on the lap of Zeus; *El. Gr.* ii, 39; Langlotz, *Catalogue*, no. 250, Pl. 71, 2.

<sup>10</sup> Beazley, *VA.* p. 134, fig. 83. In *AV.* p. 298 the vase is referred to the Alkimachos painter.

<sup>10a</sup> Inv. no. 1216, 19. Figured in outline in Philippart, *Iconographie des Bacchantes d'Europe*, no. 22, fig. 2. I have to thank Dr. Greifenhagen for the photograph.

<sup>11</sup> Lenormant, *GA.* 1886, p. 72.



Of type (b) there are two more:—

(4) A b.f. amphora from Capua, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.<sup>12</sup> It shews the young Dionysus (ΔΙΟΣΦΟΞ) standing on the lap of Zeus, with Hera (HEPA) beside him to assist. This is the earliest representation of the subject, for the Corinthian pyxis referred to by Raoul-Rochette,<sup>13</sup> shews merely an ordinary scene of accouchement, as the seated figure in the centre is not Zeus but a woman.

(5) A r.f. bell-krater of the strong style from Comacchio<sup>14</sup> with Dionysus standing on the thigh of Zeus, this time holding a cantharus and a vine plant. Each side stands a woman in attendance.

The Taranto vase perhaps gives the best, and certainly the most detailed, rendering of the subject. In the centre, on a rock represented by a mass of rough incised circles, sits Zeus (ΙΕΥΣ) with his sceptre in his left hand, and from his right thigh just above the knee emerges the young Dionysus (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ), wearing a vine crown and stretching out his hands towards a woman, who, by reason of the sceptre she bears, may be taken as Hera, who also appears in a similar capacity on the b.f. amphora cited above. Above, to left, sits Aphrodite with Eros beside her; to right is Apollo and beside him, with her hand upon his shoulder, sits Artemis, girt with a fawn skin and carrying her bow; in the centre is Pan, only half visible behind some rising ground, again represented by incised circles. Pan is shading his eyes at the sight (ἀποσκοπεύων); he is often represented so, for example on the Phaon krater at Palermo,<sup>15</sup> and the type perhaps goes back to one of the great works of art. It is instructive to compare the description of Pan given by Silius Italicus,<sup>16</sup> who refers to him in this very attitude,

obtendensque manum solem infernescere fronti  
arcet et umbrato perlustrat pascua visu.

The reason for his presence is explained by Philostratus,<sup>17</sup> who tells us how he hymned the birth of Dionysus; his syrinx is hanging from the stick he is carrying. On the lower register to right is a group of three women, to left a silen enjoying a little dance, and in the centre is Hermes, his right foot supported on a rock and leaning forward with arms crossed over the upraised knee. A familiar attitude—we meet it for the first time in vase painting on a bell-krater in the Villa Giulia,<sup>18</sup> and it undoubtedly goes back to some sculptural prototype. One thinks of the youth tying his sandal on the west frieze of the Parthenon, and Professor A. B. Cook has even ventured on a restoration of the east pediment<sup>19</sup> shewing Hermes in that pose.

On the neck, a contest between Lapiths and Centaurs. To left, a centaur about to fell a Lapith with a blow from a branch; to right, one taking a large bite out of his adversary's neck.

Peace for the main design, for the subsidiary one strife. It is the

<sup>12</sup> No. 219. *Miscellanea, Monumenti posseduti da R. Barone*, Pl. I.

<sup>13</sup> *Choix des peintures de Pompéi*, p. 81.

<sup>14</sup> Negrioli, *NSc.* 1927, p. 166, Pl. XVI.

<sup>15</sup> *FR.* Pl. 59.

<sup>16</sup> xiii, 341.

<sup>17</sup> *Imagines*, I, 14.

<sup>18</sup> *FR.* Pl. 20.

<sup>19</sup> *Zeus*, II. ii, in folder at end.



other way about on the reverse, and the little picture on the neck shews us Herakles about to have a meal. He is reclining upon his lion skin, and above him hang his bow and quiver case; from the right comes up a silen with a basket containing what looks like a large loaf of bread, for which, as we remember from the 'Frogs,'<sup>20</sup> Herakles had a decided weakness. From the left two more young silens<sup>21</sup> come up, the first with a table, and the other with a jug and a dish of cakes. Like the principal scene on the obverse, this is one for which few parallels can be found in vase painting. The best is from a kylix in the British Museum<sup>22</sup> shewing on the exterior a symposium scene in which Herakles and Dionysus are the principal characters, but there are two silens as well, and one of these is creeping up to the table to steal a cake while the diners are not looking. There is also a kylix in the Louvre,<sup>23</sup> attributed to Skythes, which shews Herakles reclining for the feast in the presence of silens and a maenad; and on an amphora there by the Berlin Painter<sup>24</sup> (kindly pointed out to me by Mr. Martin Robertson) we see on the one side Herakles reclining, while on the other a silen runs up with an oenochoe and a lyre.

The Amazonomachy which forms the main design of the reverse is a good piece of work. It is divided into two registers by a row of those rough incised circles of which the artist seems so fond. Above is a combat between an Amazon on horseback and two warriors on foot, framed between two other standing Amazons, the one to left about to shoot an arrow in defence of her friend, the other blowing a blast on a long trumpet. To left below, an Amazon with a lunate shield (*pelta*) tries to flee from a warrior who is about to cut her down with a sweep of his sword. In the centre, a duel between another pair—the man lunges at the Amazon with his spear, she is about to parry the blow with her shield, and deal him one in return with her upraised battle axe. To right lies an Amazon in the contortions of her death agony, for she has received a mortal wound just below her left breast. It is a vivid scene, and well balanced; there are five combatants in each register, yet grouped in different ways to give variety, and at the same time interlinked to give some idea of unity to the whole composition, that it be not a mere series of isolated combats. A very similar rendering of the subject may be found on a krater in the British Museum.<sup>25</sup>

Well has Beazley pointed out the influence of the work of Pheidias and his contemporaries upon such a vase as this.<sup>26</sup> The obverse indeed is 'reminiscent of the Parthenon,' and the centauiromachy scene<sup>27</sup> might well be an excerpt from the Phigaleia frieze, where too is represented a centaur biting into the neck of a Lapith. Also the vase stands close to

<sup>20</sup> *Ar. Frogs* 551.

<sup>21</sup> Not slaves, as Philippart (*l.c.*) has it.

<sup>22</sup> E 66; Smith, *BM. Vases*, iii, Pl. IV; Beazley, *AV*, p. 222 (Schule des Makron no. 9).

<sup>23</sup> G 11. Pottier, *Mus. Piot*, ix, 1902, Pl. XV; Pfuhl, *Mus.*, fig. 342; Beazley, *AV*, p. 41, no. 20.

<sup>24</sup> G 174. Beazley, *AV*, p. 81, no. 71.

<sup>25</sup> F 158. FR. iii, p. 343, fig. 161. The vase is referred by Watzinger to the group of Naples 2411.

<sup>26</sup> Beazley, *Vases in Poland*, p. 72, n. 4.

<sup>27</sup> Watzinger, *ÖJh.* 1913, p. 160.



the work of the Meidias painter, his Zeus and ours are very much the same god, and our Hermes and his Klytios are in much the same pose.<sup>27</sup>

Stylistically our vase stands in very close relationship to the group attributed to the Sisyphus painter; Beazley thinks it not by his hand, but nearer to the livelier style of the Berlin Dancing Girl painter.<sup>28</sup> It stands between his work and that of the successors to the Sisyphus painter, as represented by such vases as the Naples volute krater with offerings to Dionysus<sup>29</sup> or the one at Brussels with the apotheosis of Herakles.<sup>30</sup> On the reverse of the Naples vase is a Centaureomachy with a centaur biting a Lapith, which corresponds closely with the similar scene on the neck of the obverse of our vase. Another vase, roughly of the same period as these two, is the calyx krater at Paris<sup>31</sup> with (a) Odysseus consulting Teiresias and (b) the Judgment of Paris. Athena on the reverse of this vase is the counterpart of Hera on ours, and there is general similarity in the treatment of body and drapery, except that on the Teiresias vase the folds have become more finicky, and the limbs a little softer and rounder. So we may date our vase before these three, and it will come somewhere between the latest work of the Sisyphus painter and the end of the fifth century, which will be approximately the dating of the other vases; let us say about 410, or early in the last decade of the century.

The precise location of the centre of the early South Italian vase industry has not yet been determined, and until we can get further evidence from contemporary history, this will not be easy to do. Many attempts have been made since the time when Macchioro,<sup>32</sup> working on the geographical basis of proveniences, drew up his rather rigid classification of South Italian pottery. Most have rightly taken style rather than provenience as the criterion, though Wullecumier,<sup>33</sup> reverting to the older method, has tried to make out that Ceglie was a flourishing centre, in view of the numerous finds there. But finds at or near Taranto have been as rich, and it seems much more likely that the main stream of South Italian pottery would, in its initial stages, flow from one of the larger and more important towns, and even if Thurii were, as Furtwaengler<sup>34</sup> has suggested, the source and fount, Taranto must have had a very flourishing ceramic industry of its own before the end of the fifth century, and our vase may well be taken as one of its products.

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<sup>27</sup> Nicole, *Meidias*, Pl. II.

<sup>28</sup> Beazley, *loc. cit.*; Moon, *op. cit.* p. 35; Neugebauer, *Führer*, no. 2400, p. 140, Pl. 70; Watzinger, *FR.* iii, p. 347.

<sup>29</sup> No. 2411; *FR.* Pl. 175-6.

<sup>30</sup> A 1018; *CK.* IV Db 1.

<sup>31</sup> Bib. Nat. 422. *FR.* Pl. 60, 1; Giraudon, Photo 28984.

<sup>32</sup> *RM.* 1911, pp. 187-213; 1912, pp. 31-36, 163-183.

<sup>33</sup> *RA.* 1929, ii, p. 209; 1931, i, p. 250.

<sup>34</sup> *Masterpieces*, p. 110.



## SOLON'S REFORM OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

THE precise nature of Solon's *σεισάχθεια* has long been a matter of dispute. There can be no reasonable doubt that Solon abolished arrears of rent, and passed something analogous to an Evicted Tenants' Act. He certainly abolished debts for the nonpayment of which personal freedom had been forfeited, and for the future forbade loans of this type. This does not amount to a wholesale abolition of all debts, both public and private. It is equally certain that mere devaluation, while it would have affected all debts expressed in money, would not have been sufficiently drastic to meet the case of the evicted tenant and the enslaved artisan. Yet there is something to be said for the view that the reduction of the standard coin by some 30 per cent. was an integral part of the *σεισάχθεια*. The other measures affecting debt would no doubt restore those who had fallen under the load. But in all commercial communities, ancient and modern, in times of economic stress there are business men, industrialists and farmers, who are struggling along under burdens of debt, and who bravely continue the struggle. These are the persons whose activities constitute the mainspring of economic life in any profit-making economy. It is precisely this class whose economic circumstances would have been alleviated by the currency devaluation which Solon certainly enacted.

On general economic grounds there can be no doubt that Solon did reduce the weight of the standard coin. If we accept this view, as we must, it becomes all the more difficult to believe, with Mr. Seltman and also with Dr. P. Gardner,<sup>1</sup> that Solon reduced the monetary unit, and at the same time increased the weight unit, and the units of capacity. If he did this he must have exaggerated the appearance of the rise in prices, which, in any case, must have followed from his devaluation of the currency. Moreover, an increase in the capacity of the *medimnus* and *metretes* must incidentally have had the effect of reducing the number of people who would otherwise have been qualified as Pentakosiomedimni, Hippeis, and Zeugitae, and this does not seem in accordance with the general trend of Solon's policy.

Plutarch<sup>2</sup> has stated that in the valuations of sacrificial offerings, a sheep and a drachma were reckoned as equivalent to a medimnus of grain in the laws of Solon. It is probable that a man was allowed to take out his assessment, in whole or in part, in metretae of oil, and it is a reasonable conjecture that even in Solon's time a citizen having no land was allowed to count a drachma of money-income as equivalent to a medimnus or a metretes for purposes of assessment.<sup>3</sup> All this points to a customary

<sup>1</sup> Seltman, *Athens, its History and Coinage*, Chs. II and III; P. Gardner, *History of Ancient Coinage*, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Solon*, 23.

<sup>3</sup> Kathleen Freeman, *The Work and Life of Solon*, p. 59.



equivalence between a drachma and a medimnus or metretes, which could hardly have grown up if Solon had just disrupted the pre-Solonian relationship by decreasing the monetary unit and increasing the measure of capacity. In fact, it is only consistent with the theory that Solon made the same proportional change in the measures of capacity that he found in existence, as he made in the monetary unit. Such a theory has not even been considered by any recent author.

That Solon reduced the unit of weight, though not quite to the same extent as the monetary unit, is the plain meaning of the phrase in *Ath. Pol.* 10: ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ σταθμὰ πρὸς τὸ νόμισμα τρεῖς καὶ ἑξήκοντα μνᾶς τὸ τάλαντον ἀγούσας κτλ. He made weights to correspond to the coin, the talent of weight containing the equivalent in weight of sixty-three coin minae. The commercial talent, doubtless containing 60 of its own minae, was thus 5 per cent. heavier than the coin talent—but very much lighter than the preceding Aeginetan talent.

The argument that Solon reduced also the unit of capacity is based partly on the general historical considerations already referred to, partly on the well-known tendency for money, weights and measures to hang together when any systematic change was deliberately introduced or imposed, partly on the linguistic difficulty of taking αὐξησις in *Ath. Pol.* 10 in diametrically opposite senses in the same context, but there is also some literary evidence in its favour. Athenaeus preserves a statement of Dicaearchus that each Spartan messmate brought to the common table one and a half 'Attic' medimni of barley, and some 11 or 12 χόες of wine.<sup>4</sup> Plutarch<sup>5</sup> in discussing the same subject describes the contribution as a medimnus of barley and 8 χόες of wine. Evidently the Spartan medimnus and metretes (in terms of which Plutarch is speaking) were roughly equivalent to 1½ Attic. Plutarch elsewhere<sup>6</sup> implies that the Aeginetan weight system was used in Sparta, and it is natural to suppose that the medimnus in question was also the Aeginetan medimnus. Thus the Solonian or 'Attic' medimnus bore much the same proportion to the Aeginetan medimnus as the Attic talent did to the Aeginetan.

Here, however, we are confronted with the first real difficulty in interpreting our principal ancient authority. *Ath. Pol.* 10, after stating that Solon followed up this χρεῶν ἀποκοπή by bringing about τὴν τε τῶν μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν καὶ τὴν τοῦ νομίσματος αὐξήσιν, goes on to say, by way of elucidation, ἐπ' ἐκείνου γὰρ ἐγένετο καὶ τὰ μέτρα μείζω τῶν Φειδωνέων κτλ. Most recent writers (e.g. Dr. P. Gardner,<sup>7</sup> Miss Freeman, and Mr. Seltman) treat the epithets 'Pheidonian' and 'Aeginetan' as synonymous, so far as weights and measures are concerned. P. N. Ure, in his *Origin of Tyranny* (1922), has considered the evidence, archaeological as well as literary, relating to Pheidon, tyrant of Argos, and has given very excellent reasons for thinking that he flourished during the first half of the

<sup>4</sup> Dicaearchus apud Athen. IV. 141 c, συμφέρει δ' ἑκάστος εἰς τὸ φειδίσιον, ἀφρίτων μὲν ὡς τρία μάλιστα ἡμιμέδιμνα Ἀττικὰ, οἶνον δὲ χόας ἑνδεκά τινος, ἢ δωδεκά.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch, *Lyc.* 12, ἔφερε δὲ ἑκάστος κατὰ μὲν τῶν συσσίτων ἀφρίτων μέδιμνον, οἶνον χόας ὅκτω κτλ.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch, *Apophth. Lac.* *Lyc.* 3, οὐδὲ γὰρ νομισμα παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐχρηστον ἴσαι, μόνον δὲ τὰ σιδηροῦν ἐισηγήσατο, ὃ ἔστι μνᾶ ὀκτὴ Αἰγινεαία, θυλάκι δὲ χαλκοῦ τέσσαρες.

<sup>7</sup> P. Gardner, *A History of Ancient Coinage*, p. 151.



seventh century, and that he dominated Aegina at the very time when Aeginetan coins were first issued.<sup>8</sup> Herodotus mentions among the suitors of Agariste, Leocedes, a son of Pheidon, tyrant of the Argives, and goes on, Φείδωνος δὲ τοῦ τὰ μέτρα ποιήσαντος Πελοποννησίοισι καὶ ὑβρίσαντος μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων, ὃς ἐξαναστήσας τοὺς Ἡλείων ἀγωνοθέτας αὐτὸς τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε. Ephorus and later authorities not only associate him with μέτρα but state that money was first coined by Pheidon in Aegina.<sup>9</sup> Thus the argument for equating 'Pheidonian' with 'Aeginetan' in this connexion appears very strong.

A recent numismatic theory brought forward by Mr. Seltman<sup>10</sup> has suggested that money was coined at Athens during the generation that preceded the legislation of Solon, and the weights of these surviving coins prove that they belong to the Aeginetan, which some prefer to call the Pheidonian standard. The statement in the *Ath. Pol.* that in Solon's time the 'measures' became greater than the Pheidonian seems to imply that the measures which Solon found in use at Athens were Pheidonian. It all appears to hang together. Pheidon instituted a system of weights and measures for the Peloponnesians, and a coinage at Aegina based on the new system of weights. Athens, when she took over the idea of coinage from Aegina, took over with it the Aeginetan system of weights and measures, and the system was called indifferently Pheidonian or Aeginetan. And yet it all leads to the conclusion, which the present writer regards as a priori improbable, if not absurd, that Solon *reduced* the monetary and commercial units of weight and, at the same time, *increased* the unit of capacity.

We must admit that Pheidon instituted a well-known system of measures which probably included weights as well, and no reader of Mr. Ure's erudite treatise can escape the conclusion that Pheidon probably was intimately associated with Aegina at the time when Aeginetan coins first began to be issued. And yet it seems necessary to call in question the identification of the Pheidonian with the Aeginetan system now so generally accepted. Beloch<sup>11</sup> flatly denies this identity, and the evidence which he adduces is at least worthy of consideration. Mr. Ure's general thesis is that the tyrants of the seventh and sixth centuries owed their position as tyrants to a financial or commercial supremacy which they had already established before they became tyrants, and that the introduction of coinage, with which in many cases they were personally associated, created the conditions which they were able successfully to exploit. Yet even if we admit that all early tyrants exploited the conditions created by the existence of a monetary economy, it remains possible to believe that at Aegina, as at Athens, a monetary system could *originate* without the intervention of a tyrant. While in the main Mr. Ure's thesis must be accepted, it must not be pressed too far. It is quite possible that Beloch is right in holding that the Aeginetan system was distinct from the Pheidonian.

*Ath. Pol.* 10 implies a statement that 'Pheidonian' measures were

\* P. N. Ure, *Origin of Tyranny*, Ch. VI.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* VI. 127; other references *apud* Ure, *l.c.*

<sup>10</sup> Seltman, *op. cit.* Ch. II.

<sup>11</sup> Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* I, 2, 348 ff.



used in Athens before the reforms of Solon, and definitely states that these were smaller than the units introduced by Solon. Beloch points out that the basis of the first statement is very unreliable, for the author of the *Ath. Pol.* and his authorities, in this case Androtion, had little or no traditional knowledge of pre-Solonian conditions in Athens. On the other hand, the second statement must be accepted as correct, for Pheidonian measures were still in use in many parts of Greece in Aristotle's time. The difference between Pheidonian and Attic measures must therefore have been notorious. The conclusion which Beloch draws is that Pheidonian measures were in no wise identical with Aeginetan, inasmuch as the latter were larger than those introduced by Solon.

Beloch then goes on to say that the only evidence for the relationship of Pheidonian to other measures is a Delphian inscription of about the middle of the fourth century which proves that 3000 Pheidonian medimni were equal to 1875 Delphic medimni, a ratio of 8 to 5.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately we do not know whether the Delphic medimnus was the same as the Aeginetan or the Attic, but Beloch thinks it was probably equivalent to one or other of these two widespread systems, and more probably to the Attic. If we take the Delphic medimnus as equivalent to the Aeginetan, and take the latter at 75 litres, we get a Pheidonian medimnus of 47 litres. If we equate the Delphic medimnus to an Attic medimnus of 52.5 litres, we get a Pheidonian medimnus of 32.8 litres. Such a Pheidonian medimnus would, as Beloch points out, correspond to the cube of a foot of 320.45 mm., and the Stadium of Olympia was laid out in accordance with a foot of precisely this length. Such a foot measure has nothing to do with the Aeginetan system, and Beloch sees in it the Pheidonian measure of length corresponding to the Pheidonian medimnus.

All this seems to point to the conclusion that when the Athenians adopted a coinage system from Aegina in the late seventh century they took over, or had already in use, an Aeginetan system of weights and measures which is rightly called Aeginetan and not Pheidonian. Accordingly, when Solon reduced the monetary unit by 27 or 30 per cent. and the unit of weight for commercial purposes by nearly the same percentage, he also reduced the unit of capacity in approximately the same proportion. This would have the effect of disguising the reality of the inevitable rise in prices by an appearance of continued stability. It would also increase the number of those qualified to enter the higher classes of citizens. Even if we cannot attribute to Solon such a degree of sophistication as would have enabled him to foresee the first consequence, the second at least may well have been present to his mind and formed part of his actuating motive.

On this interpretation the αὔξησις of the *Ath. Pol.* was of the same nature in all three cases, an increase in the number of units contained in a given quantity. But the author of the *Ath. Pol.* cannot be absolved from

<sup>11</sup> *BCH.* 1903, 13. In an article commenting on that inscription, Bourguet mentions that he has already pointed out, in *RA.* 1903, ii, 25, what can

for the first time be learnt from this text about the metric system of Pheidon.



the charge of a certain looseness of expression, for when he meant to say that in Solon's time the 'measures' became smaller than the previously used Aeginetan, it is, to say the least, misleading to say that they became greater than the well-known Pheidonian. For ex hypothesi and a fortiori the Aeginetan measures which he found in use exceeded Pheidonian measures to an even greater extent than did the Attic measures which he adopted. Is it possible that our author really wrote ἐπ' ἐκείνου γὰρ ἐγένετο καὶ τὰ μέτρα μείω τῶν Αἰγιναιῶν and that some later scribe added a gloss Φειδωνείων which eventually crept into the text and ousted the true reading? If that really took place it would be natural to 'correct' μείω to μείζω in view of the well-known fact that Attic measures were greater than Pheidonian. It appears that Van Herwerden and Van Leeuwen in their 1891 edition of the *Ath. Pol.* adopted the reading μείω.

The argument may be briefly summarised. General economic considerations lead to the irresistible conclusion that Solon reduced the weight of the standard coin. Other considerations suggest that he made a similar reduction in the unit of weight for commercial purposes, and also in the units of capacity. The plain interpretation of the evidence of *Ath. Pol.* 10 is that he did reduce the weight standard, except that he left it 5 per cent. heavier than the corresponding coin standard. The theory that Solon *increased* the unit of capacity is ultimately based on an identification of the Pheidonian with the Aeginetan systems of weights and measures, which ignores part of the evidence, and on a literal interpretation of a sentence in the *Ath. Pol.* which is a mistake either of the author or of a copyist.

The argument that the Aeginetan medimnus, which Solon superseded, was really greater than the Attic is based on the fact, attested by Plutarch, that the Aeginetan weight system was used at Sparta, on the assumption that the Spartan medimnus, referred to elsewhere in Plutarch, was the same as the Aeginetan, and on the fact, attested by Dicaearchus and Plutarch, that  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Attic medimni were equal to one Spartan medimnus. Until 1903 no record of the capacity of the Pheidonian medimnus in terms of any other unit of capacity was available, and it became available then only in terms of the Delphic medimnus.

The capacity of the Attic medimnus in terms of modern measurements is known—52.5 litres approximately. The evidence from Plutarch and Athenaeus implies an Aeginetan medimnus of about 75 litres. The reduction of a unit of capacity of 75 litres to one of 52.5 is roughly equivalent to the 27-30 per cent. reduction in the weight of the coin, which was undoubtedly made, and Solon would have avoided the *appearance* of a serious rise in prices by such a reduction of the former while gaining constitutional advantages of an indirect kind. On the other hand, if he increased the unit of capacity while reducing the other units, he must have diminished the number of privileged citizens, besides aggravating the appearance of the rise of prices.

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## ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1933-34.

### [PLATE X.]

THE following account of recent discoveries in Greece is shorter than usual, for the sake of economy of space in the *JHS*. There is, moreover, actually less to report, since, largely owing to the economic situation, there has been unusually little excavation in Greece, and work on many sites has been virtually, or entirely, held up. The source of the greater part of what follows is the forthcoming report in the *Anzeiger* of the *Jahrbuch* of the German Archaeological Institute. To Professor Karo, the author of that report, I owe a special debt of gratitude for his generosity in allowing me to make free use of his manuscript; and I would here offer my thanks to others who have supplied me with information or photographs.

### ATHENS AND ATTICA.

The fourth campaign conducted by Shear in the Athenian Agora has resulted in topographical discoveries of the first importance. Identification of buildings found in previous seasons had of necessity been hypothetical: now, with the discovery of two fixed points, the Tholos and the peribolos of the Twelve Gods, the whole problem is placed in a new light, and some important inferences and identifications can be made. The Tholos, the circular dining-hall of the Prytanes, lies on the west of the area below Kolonos Agoraios, south of the foundations previously identified as the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios. Nothing but foundations remain: the uppermost level appears to be Hadrianic, but earlier foundations came to light; among these, part of a circular retaining wall of the fifth century. The discovery of the Tholos makes possible the identification of two buildings in the immediate neighbourhood, the Metroon and the Bouleuterion. The Metroon was previously taken for the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, but the present identification is placed beyond question by the discovery of tiles inscribed *μητροι θεων*. Both Metroon and Bouleuterion lie north of the Tholos; still further north is the temple of Apollo Patroos. The Stoa previously identified as the Stoa Basileios now becomes the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, and it is clear that the Stoa Basileios lies outside the concession north of the railway. Standard weights and measures were kept in the Tholos, and one of these was found in a well close to the building: this is a clay mug on which is painted the word *δημοσιον*; it is dated in the fifth century. A lead weight with a dolphin and the word *μνα* was found not far away. The peribolos of the altar of the Twelve Gods lies immediately by the railway, which unfortunately covers part of it; trial pits dug between the lines and beyond them have, however, shewn its dimensions to be about 30 feet square. In front of it, and standing in



position, was the base of a statue dedicated by Leagros, son of Glaukon (*ob.* 464 B.C.): *λεαγρος ανεθηκε γλαυκουος δοδεκα θεοις*. The altar itself was discovered not far away in 1887, and is in the National Museum.

In other respects the last campaign was less productive than usual, but there are a number of interesting finds: geometric vases from graves, an early Attic lekythos decorated with cocks, a singular 'rhyton' in the form of a semicircular tube ending in a rather weakly modelled head, and a very fine clay head from a small relief of the last decade of the sixth century, apparently (from the presence of a lion's foot on the head) part of a group of Herakles and the lion. The sculpture includes several Hellenistic and Roman draped statues, but the most interesting piece is from an Ephedrimos group, a work of the end of the fourth century, of which we have a Roman copy in the Conservatori Museum (Stuart Jones, *Conserv. Cat.* 66, pl. 16).<sup>1</sup>

The exploration of the *Pnyx* was resumed in 1934, the work being, as before, undertaken jointly by the American School (represented by Homer Thompson) and the Greek authorities. On the crest of the hill, to the south of the Assembly Place, the foundations have been exposed of a building probably of late Hellenistic times (66.34 m. long, 17.5 m. wide), consisting of one long room fronted by a broad colonnade that looked northward and commanded a magnificent view of city and plain. A short length of retaining wall on the shoulder of the hill to the north-east extended the level area in front of the building. This part of the hill-top in its elevation and proximity to the Assembly Place answers admirably to all that we know of the site of the Sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros. Further evidence for the identification of the site is provided by a small dump of terracotta figurines of appropriate types and by hundreds of miniature votive cups scattered over the hill-top. The newly-found building, which seems to have gone without mention both in ancient and modern times, is in all probability to be associated with the sanctuary and may perhaps be regarded as a sort of dormitory for the convenience of the Athenian women who spent their nights on the hill-top during the festival of the Thesmophoria, a late substitute for the simple huts (*σκηναί*) which served the Thesmophoriazousae of Aristophanes.

Dr. Broneer, of the American School, continued his work on the *north slopes of the Acropolis* in the winter of 1933-34; in clearing the dumps of earth near the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite, he found more votive-niches in the rock, near one of which there were still three phalli in their original position; a marble block with a phallus in relief was also found. In addition, fragments of architecture, sculpture and inscriptions (among which is a sixth-century dedication of an otherwise unknown Attic potter Peikon: *πεικον ευχαμενος κεραμευς δεκατεν ανεθηκεν ταθελαιαι*), and fragments of a white ground lekythos signed *πασιαδες εγραψε* (the first example of Pasiades's signature: as painter, not as potter).

<sup>1</sup> For further illustrations of this year's finds the *Illustrated London News* of June 2, 1934. reference should be made to Karo's report and to



In the upper area the Mycenaean pathway up to the Acropolis was entirely laid bare. At one point the walls of a late Mycenaean house are



FIG. 1.—PROTOGEOMETRIC AND GEOMETRIC AMPHORAE FROM THE KERAMEIKOS.



FIG. 2.—PROTOATTIC VASES FROM THE KERAMEIKOS.

built directly over the stairway, shewing that at the time when this house was standing the stairway was no longer used. Trial pits sunk among the trees higher up the slope yielded figurines and good fragments of pottery,



and a large number of bronze arrow-heads, probably from the time of the Persian destruction.<sup>2</sup>

The German excavations in the *Kerameikos* are the subject of a long appendix, by Kübler and Kraiker, which follows Karo's report in the *Anzeiger*.<sup>3</sup> It is impossible in the short space here available to give anything like an adequate summary of the results of last season's work: suffice it to say that the series of *Kerameikos* graves is of unique importance for the history of the development of early Attic art from the protogeometric period, through the geometric, to the sixth century. Quite apart from the fact that the graves have produced a mass of first-rate material, their positions often make conclusions as to relative chronology possible, and further conclusions of the same kind can naturally be drawn from the groups of vases found in each grave; moreover, the seventh-century graves contain a whole series of protocorinthian and Corinthian vases, which fix beyond dispute the relative chronology of the Attic and Corinthian fabrics.

The protogeometric graves reveal the remarkably high standards of Attic artists in this usually debased period. Moreover, they emphasise the continuity of the Attic tradition, on the one hand with sub-mycenaean art, on the other with geometric. Though distinctively primitive, they shew many of the essential qualities of Attic geometric, and this close relation is epitomised in the discovery of fresh examples of graves containing both protogeometric and geometric vases. The seventh-century material is again astonishingly rich and important; particularly interesting is a sacrificial trench which contained an ovoid protocorinthian aryballos with figure scenes in the regular developed miniaturist style, together with the unusually fine protoattic vase shewn in Pl. X, 2; this trench must be contemporary with that which produced the sphinx *JHS.* 1933, Pl. XVII, and a number of unquestionably very early Attic vases (see *JHS.* 1933, 271), and puts beyond dispute the early date (still doubted by some) of the New York and Kynosarges amphorae. The seventh-century graves as a whole illustrate very clearly the parallel development of protocorinthian and protoattic art, and shew some curious attempts on the part of Attic artists to imitate protocorinthian miniature work. But, as I have said, the questions which arise from the new material lead too far for discussion in this report.

The excavations at *Plato's Academy* have made further progress. The gymnasium has been cleared to the archaic level, and appears as a building of primitive plan (not yet square: over 40 × 24 metres), with a rectangular court round which are long narrow rooms with internal supports. It is far from well preserved, but is certainly the earliest existing gymnasium. North-east of it is an archaic wall which is obviously part of the entrance; below this entrance were found fine geometric bronze vases and pottery. Further north-east are traces of an archaic temple; parts of some painted metopes from this building had already been discovered, and a new joining fragment of one of these has now been found. There are two important

<sup>2</sup> For further details see *AJA.* 1934, 310.

<sup>3</sup> See also Kraiker in *Forschungen u. Fortschritte*, 10, ii, 1934.



inscriptions: a stele dedicated to Hermes, and a small fragment of a marble block of the fifth century with the names of four members of Socratic circle, χαρμ[ίδης], ἀρισ[τον], ἀξι[οχος], κριτον, undoubtedly the most interesting and promising discovery from this neighbourhood.

The restoration of the Parthenon has now ceased, with the partial reconstruction of two columns of the south side; the Nike-bastion, in consequence of a rumour that it is in danger of collapse, is now claiming the attention of the experts. The National Museum has received some important acquisitions through the newly-formed Society of Friends of the Museum: I may mention a large Mycenaean boot-vase, a fine late geometric jug, several important red-figured vases, and a fine Melian relief with Aktaion. There are also some remarkable wooden plaques with painted figures, of the second half of the sixth century, from a cave in the Corinthia. Karo gives a list of other accessions to the National Museum. The bronze Herakles in the Benaki Museum discussed elsewhere in this number is another important recent find.

Scientific excavation in Attica outside Athens has been confined to two points: Marathon and Eleusis. The excavation at Marathon has been conducted by Soteriades, who has identified beyond dispute the site of the Sanctuary of Herakles, in the immediate neighbourhood of a spring by the Chapel of St. Demetrius, which lies on the northern edge of Mt. Agrieliki. At the point in question there is an enclosure, 150 metres square, with walls built of irregular blocks, and in some places preserved to a height of a metre; this is at least as early as the fifth century, and may be earlier; it is evidently the site of the Athenian encampment before the battle, on which occasion the spring (the only one in the neighbourhood) was naturally of vital importance. The enclosure appears never to have contained a temple: doubtless there was in it only an altar of Herakles. North of the Herakleion, remains of a building of the Classical period have been found, perhaps of a temple of Athena, for a boundary-stone of the early fifth century inscribed ἵππος τέμενος ἀθηνᾶς was found not very far away. In the plain of Marathon Soteriades has found a tholos tomb, long known but previously mistaken for a modern lime-kiln. This produced a quantity of Mycenaean pottery and a burnt deposit. Other finds include geometric pottery, some of it thought to be of local fabric, and a finely preserved Mycenaean cup of plain gold.

Comparatively little excavation was done at *Eleusis* in the past year, but Kourouniotis, who was also occupied with the work of conservation, found a late Mycenaean settlement below the smaller Propylaea, and made a number of minor topographical discoveries.

#### THE MEGARID

Karo reports the discovery by Schefold and Johannes of the site of a temple of Athena in the western acropolis at *Megara*; the building is not earlier than the Parthenon, but only the rock-cuttings survive, to shew the main features of the plan.



## THE PÉLOPONNESE

The American excavations at *Corinth* have resulted in considerable progress in the clearing of the Roman Agora, in particular of the great Stoa on the south side. More shops and some interesting mosaics have been uncovered. Among the sculpture found is a headless peplos figure, a good copy of an original of the Parthenon period; the pottery includes examples of a fourth to third century fabric which imitates the so-called 'West-slope' Attic ware. There is a skyphos with the inscription  $\omega$  παρ ελπίδας φανεῖς, obviously commemorating the appearance or reappearance of someone dear to the writer.

There was no excavation this year at *Perachora*, work being confined to protection and study of the lower area of the site. Illustrations of one of the geometric house or temple-models found in 1933 are given in Figs. 3-4. The restoration is based on a combination of the fragments of two contemporary models, one of which is shown in Fig. 3; the other gives the form of the roof. The only uncertain elements are: the exact height of the roof (there may be here an error of an inch or two, not more), the beam over the columns, and the form of the capitals. A twist along the spine of the roof, barely visible in the photograph, is certain evidence that the roof of the original was thatched. It is certain that the gable was open, as in the restoration; the original must have had two floors, but since the details of the interior are not clearly visible in the model, the ceiling was omitted. The date, as previously stated, is not later than 750 B.C.<sup>3</sup>

At *Sikyon*, excavation was confined to the early Christian Basilika, near the station of Kiato, where trials had been made two years before. The building is dated in the fifth century A.D. Details will be found in Oikonomos's *Ἐκθέσις*, 1934, p. 20 ff. Orlandos has excavated another fifth-century Basilika at Tegea, where interesting mosaics came to light.

There is not very much to report from the other parts of the Peloponnese, though there have been several interesting finds: notably, at *Argos*, where a series of fifth-century graves has been excavated by Mrs. Karouzos: these produced a number of good early classical Argive terracottas and some vases (Attic, Corinthian, and local); and in *Messenia* at the village of Hag. Floros, where Valmin has found a small Doric temple (6 × 7 metres), which inscriptions prove to have been dedicated to the river-god Pamisos. The sanctuary is mentioned by Pausanias, who states that one of the Messenian kings made annual dedications there (IV. 3, 10: cf. 31, 4). The excavation produced a quantity of archaic pottery, and a number of bronze statuettes (the majority of bulls and young male figures), the most interesting of which is a late archaic Herakles in combat with a snake (illustrated in *AJA.* 1934, 310, fig. 4), and sufficient architectural members to make possible the reconstruction of the temple.

Valmin has also continued his excavation of the Mycenae site at *Malthi* (in Messenia, near Vasiliko).<sup>4</sup> The Palace, and about a third of the settlement on the Acropolis, have been excavated, and, as Karo says, shew a

<sup>3</sup> For further details, see *JHS.* 1933, 278-9.

<sup>4</sup> Plan of site, and further details, in *AJA.* 1934, 309 ff.



plan somewhat similar to that of Minoan sites; there is no trace of a Megaron. The most remarkable single object found is a stone figure of a woman<sup>5</sup> which is presumed to be sub-neolithic; there is also a quantity of early prehistoric incised pottery, and of Middle and Late Helladic; the site

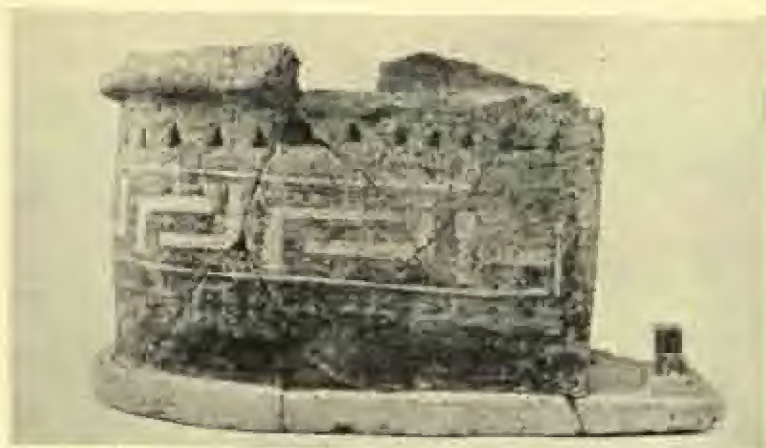


FIG. 3.—MODEL OF GEOMETRIC HOUSE FROM THE HERAEUM, PERACHORA.



FIG. 4.—RECONSTRUCTION OF MODEL OF GEOMETRIC HOUSE FROM PERACHORA.

was not inhabited during the Greek period in spite of the fact that there is a spring on the Acropolis.

At *Alipheira*, in Western Arcadia, Orlandos has continued the excava-

<sup>5</sup> *AJA*, *l.c.* fig. 3.



tion of the earlier temple, which inscriptions now prove to be that of Athena; the architectural members, of which many have been found, shew certain archaic features (sixteen flutes on the columns, and no guttae), but the date of the building is about the middle of the fifth century. The excavation of this building has not yet been completed. In the smaller temple, that of Asklepios, Orlandos found fragments of ivory from the cult statue, and in front of the temple foundations of an altar. In the mountainous country behind *Patras*, Kyparissis has continued his search for Mycenaean tombs, and reports them at Loboka, Lalousi, and also from the neighbourhood of the town of *Patras*.

#### IONIAN ISLANDS

In *Zakynthos* Miss Lorimer and Miss Benton have explored several Mycenaean sites, including a tholos tomb at Akroterion, which produced amber and faience beads and L.H. III pottery and was in use from c. 1400–1200 B.C. In *Ithaca* Heurtley has cleared the remaining part of the early Greek deposit at Actos, and found it to be pure geometric, separated by a kind of pavement from the late geometric and orientalising deposit. The protogeometric 'cairns' were also cleared and produced a continuous series of pottery from L.H. III to protogeometric.

#### THESSALY

Karo reports a number of inscriptions which have recently been placed in the Museum at Volo. The only excavation to be reported is that of Sotiriou at *Nea Anchialos*, where part of the third Basilika has been cleared: see Oikonomos, *Ἐκθέσις*, 10 ff. The building dates from about 600 A.D., and is built over a very late Roman structure, of about 100 years earlier; this last has a series of interesting mosaics, some geometric, some with animals (stags, peacocks, ducks, etc.: photographs in Karo's report), and a number of marble anta-capitals, the reliefs on which are important for the transition from late Roman to early Christian style. The Basilika itself was destroyed, along with the town of Thessalian Thebes, 100 years after it was built; like the earlier building, it is rich in mosaics and important architectural material. A fourth Basilika has been found by Sotiriou on a neighbouring hill.

#### MACEDONIA

The American excavations at *Olynthus*, conducted by D. M. Robinson, were continued on a vast scale in 1934, 400 workmen being employed. A number of houses were excavated, and the amount of fresh evidence obtained is so great that it is impossible here to give a detailed account of it. Average houses are about 17 metres square, with three or four rooms on the north side of a loggia, and others on the other sides of an open court, which sometimes has columns on more than one side, and sometimes a complete peristyle. The houses are built in blocks of ten, five on either side of an alley. Of the furniture and installation, baths, vases, bronzes, terracottas, water-pipes, etc. were found; also inscriptions



relating to purchase of houses. The bronzes include fittings of various kinds, athletic and medical equipment, vases, ornaments, and the like; the terracottas, tiles (one inscribed *Menon Kalos*), over a thousand masks and statuettes, dating from the sixth century to the year of the destruction (348 B.C.). The most remarkable house is one in the suburbs, which measures  $26 \times 17$  metres. The walls are preserved in some cases to a



FIG. 5.—MOSAIC AT OLYNTHUS (DIONYSUS IN CHARIOT).

height over 1-2 metres, with stucco facing; the number of rooms is calculated at over 20, excluding balconies and loggias. Besides the usual furniture, it contained five pebble mosaics with mythological scenes, which are considered to be of the end of the fifth century B.C., and therefore the earliest examples of their kind. One of these, Fig. 5, shews Dionysus in a chariot drawn by panthers, with a border of maenads dancing while a satyr plays the flute; another, Fig. 6, Thetis, Achilles,



and sea-nymphs. In addition several public buildings and a fountain were cleared, and nearly two hundred graves were opened; a fine chamber tomb of the regular Macedonian type was found outside the city, but proved to have been robbed. Lastly, the port-town of Mecyberna, some three miles away, was excavated. This yielded much material of the same kind as Olynthus, but it appears to have been inhabited after 348, when Olynthus was abandoned.

At *Philippi* Collart and Lapalus continue the exploration of the Forum. In a cistern at the N. side were found seven dedicatory inscriptions of the Antonine age; another inscription mentions the 4th Macedonian legion, disbanded by Vespasian. A large Corinthian temple *in antis* at the NE. angle of the Forum is also of the Antonine age; around it are subsidiary rooms and behind is a large rectangular building with rich internal decoration of stucco, green marble columns, and carved friezes. The eastern side of the Forum is now entirely exposed.

At the Basilika of *Derekler* P. Lemerle has interesting new features to report. On the N. side a second chapel and baptistery were found corresponding with those on the S. side. The plan of the atrium has been completed; an inner and an outer narthex lead to a wide court surrounded by buildings. Much antique material had been re-used in the building and over a hundred inscriptions have been recovered.

In *Western Macedonia* Keramopoullos has continued his valuable topographical investigations in the area around Lake Okhrida, and has discovered traces of fortification along the passes, in the form of thick walls built of large irregular blocks without mortar. Some of these walls appear to have been intended for camps of refuge, as they enclose no trace of buildings. Near *Florina* some years ago he began the excavation of a town burnt down in late Hellenistic days, which he identifies with the ancient Herakleia on the Lykos or Lynkos. The latest campaign has been entrusted to G. M. Bakalakis, who worked with funds provided by the town of Florina. Houses and a street have been uncovered, the former one-storied and built of bricks with wooden roofs. Finds include bronze vessels, brooches, etc., iron spits, great clay pithoi and finer pottery, especially Megarian bowls; one of these has a design of soldiers and the inscription ἀλεξανδρος, another represents the fall of Troy.

Beyond the Haliakmon Keramopoullos has made soundings successfully on several sites. The former wealth of this region is illustrated by the Papanikolaou collection, now presented by the owner to the National Museum, Athens. The objects are Hellenistic or Roman, but a single Corinthian aryballos gives hope that one day we may succeed in filling the gap between prehistoric and hellenistic Macedonia—a gap in which the Trebenishte finds stand at present almost isolated.

#### THE AEGEAN ISLANDS

In *Thasos* Launay has resumed excavations. Little more required to be done at the 'Salle hypostyle,' but additional architectural fragments were found, and the restoration of the lantern is now certain. The main



operation was the examination of a temple near the Arch of Caracalla. It belonged to the sixth/fifth century B.C. and stood on a terrace of good marble ashlar work; but unfortunately a Byzantine church has obliterated the building almost entirely. To the west of the terrace a second, of later date, gave access to a staircase twelve metres broad, leading to the altar platform. The sanctuary may have been the Herakleion for which search was previously made in vain; a dedication to Herakles, not later than the early fifth century and made by one Akeratos who is otherwise known from *IG.* xii, 8, 683, is on a heavy block which cannot have travelled far. Among the sculptural finds we mention:—the head and



FIG. 6.—MOSAIC AT OLYNTHUS (ACHILLES AND THETIS).

fore-part of a horse, of natural size, fine work of about 450 and in excellent condition, perhaps from a pediment; and the fore-part of a winged horse emerging from a block,<sup>1</sup> very fine work of the late sixth century B.C. Many fragments of architectural terracottas came from a sounding beyond the limit of the excavation. Pottery included orientalisising and black-figured sherds.

At *Delos*, between the Granite Pillars and Furni Bay, F. Robert excavated a precinct of which the altar was exposed by Fougères in 1886. The temple in the midst of the enclosure is a new discovery, but the whole is very poorly built. Underneath, however, were found remains of a temple of the archaic period, with cella and pronaos, and of the corre-

<sup>1</sup> Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce*, figs. 168-9.



sponding altar. In this stratum pottery was abundant, covering the whole period from late geometric to Attic red-figure. Here also were found fragments of two colossal male statues, one of a *Kouros*, one Hellenistic. More important still is an inscription of the first century B.C., identifying the building as the shrine of the Dioskouroi, which has hitherto been supposed to be identical with the shrine of the Kabeiroi. The inscription informs us that the shrine lay long neglected until a priest, Athenobios, rebuilt it and recommenced the old cult. The French excavation supplies the best commentary to this text.

Our knowledge of the prehistoric settlements of *Poliochni* in *Lemnos* has been considerably advanced during a campaign conducted by A. Della Seta and others through the autumn of 1933. The topmost stratum belongs to the Copper Age, and underneath lie at least two, and probably three or four, definitely Neolithic layers; the contents of these are so similar that clear demarcation has not yet been possible. The main road described in our report of last year has been traced to the limit of the settlement where the gate was found, flanked by two square towers. These are attached to a wall constructed of large stone blocks, built in the Neolithic period. It is not yet certain whether this wall surrounded the village on all sides. The end of the settlement came about through an earthquake, and this seems to have happened on a market day; for three heaps of unused pots and loom-weights were found on the street surface, obviously laid out for sale. At the south end of the village were found cist-graves containing skeletons laid out at full length, but very little tomb-furniture; the period of these is not yet ascertained. The Bronze Age pottery is said to resemble that of Troy II; a small clay bull has been completely made up from fragments.

In *Chios* Miss Lamb has completed the excavation of the temple of Apollo Phanaios, which had been discovered and partially excavated by Kourouniotis in 1914-15, the Greek Government having generously waived its claim to this site in favour of the British School.

The earliest remains belong to a sanctuary of the Geometric period. The sanctuary itself has completely disappeared and was probably on the area occupied by the existing temple and by a Byzantine basilika (see below): a very fragmentary retaining wall on the west is the only piece of building of this date. The pottery is mostly local; it is often covered with a white slip, and the open vases usually have a substratum of white slip beneath the black glaze inside, in the true Naukratite manner. There is, moreover, particularly fine late geometric ware (cf. Fig. 7) some of which approximates closely to the 'Naukratite' fabric and must be its predecessor.

The late seventh and sixth centuries are represented by 'Naukratite' wares, which seem to be undoubtedly of Chiot origin (cf. Fig. 8), and by a coarser local ware with simple red and black decoration on white slip. Among the bronzes fibulae are numerous, also earrings, bracelets, rings, handles, decorated strips and the like, and one griffin protome was found. There are a few sherds of Attic, Corinthian and Clazomenian pottery; the chief imports are, however, scarabs and faience figures from Egypt. The





FIG. 7.—GEOMETRIC POTTERY FROM CHIOS.



FIG. 8.—'NAUKRATIE' (CHIOI) POTTERY FROM CHIOS.



finds of this period resemble those from Kourounotis's excavations in 1915. Additional evidence that the site was dedicated to Apollo Phanaios is given by sherds inscribed  $\phi\alpha\nu\alpha\iota\omicron$ .

The chief structures on the site are as follows:—

(1) The enclosure wall, built of small irregular stones, which attains a height of 3 metres or more on the north and west where it is well preserved. Ceramic evidence indicates a date at the end of the seventh century and the earlier archaic remains on the site must come, not from the existing temple, but from some building now lost.

(2) Of the temple only the foundations remain. Architectural fragments, found both by Miss Lamb and by Kourounotis, point to a date in the sixth century. They are of marble, but many fragmentary mouldings from the bases of columns in red limestone were found near the temple.

(3) Next in date comes the outer enclosure wall discovered by Kourounotis, of which the total length is over 105.50 metres. There is reason to think that it is not much later than the temple and that it may belong to the turn of the century, but the evidence is not decisive.

(4) A small early Christian church was built on the temple foundations, and immediately above this the Byzantine basilika published by Orlandos (*Βυζ. μνημεία τῆς Χίου*, pl. 6).

In *Samos* Buschor has investigated the relation of the successive altars to the neighbouring structures. South of the great altar, outside the original temenos, a series of foundations of early buildings was found. Geometric and archaic pottery was obtained. Vol. 58 of the *Athenische Mitteilungen* will be devoted entirely to Samos, and will contain articles on the poros-friezes and the stelai by Buschor, and on the geometric pottery by Eilmann.

In *Crete* there has been little excavation. Pendlebury reports the discovery of a number of new Minoan sites in the island (see the next volume of the *BSA.*); an important chance find at Arkalochori has led to the discovery in a cave, partially excavated long ago, of a quantity of Minoan objects—bronze weapons of various kinds, and miniature double axes of bronze, gold, and silver. Of Marinatos's excavations I have not, at the time of writing, a report.

Karo gives details of recent unpublished finds in the *Dodecanese*: Hellenistic houses, remarkably well preserved, a Hellenistic temple (in mixed Doric and Ionic style) in *Kos*; and archaic, and later, graves at *Ialysos* and elsewhere in *Rhodes*.

#### CYPRUS

Continuing the exploration of the Neolithic settlement of *Erimi*, Dikaios has now examined a fourth stratum in poor preservation and a fifth of greater importance. Deeper layers still remain for investigation in future campaigns. This year two houses of circular plan were exposed; near the entrance of one was found a skeleton with drawn-up legs; this is the first Neolithic burial encountered in Cyprus and proves that in Neolithic times the dead were buried within the settlements, not in separate cemeteries. Whereas the pottery of the three upper strata consisted mainly of white



painted ware, in the lower strata red polished ware predominated; the Neolithic period seems thus to anticipate curiously the course of ceramic development in Cyprus during the Bronze Age.



FIG. 9.—IVORY SEAL FROM CHIOS.

Dikaïos has made a systematic search throughout the island with a view to discovering further remains of the Neolithic period and has succeeded in locating many sites; trial excavations yielded stratified pottery confirming the results obtained at Erimi. Burials within the settlement were again found at Karava, in the north. On the other hand, a site at



FIG. 10.—NEOLITHIC HOUSE AND BURIAL AT ERIMI, CYPRUS.

Chirokitis, near the southern coast, where the occupation reached a depth of 3-4 metres, yielded pottery only in small quantities from the top layer; the lower layers are characterised by a complete lack of potsherds and an abundance of stone vessels. This site reveals an earlier stage of culture, which may be termed pre-neolithic.



In addition to these prehistoric researches, Dikaïos has examined a temple-site near Kyrenia, whence he obtained stone and terracotta figures ranging from Archaic to Roman times, and a large chamber-tomb at Pyla near Larnaca; over the door of the principal chamber were reliefs of a Gorgoneion and Sphinxes, the date being about 400 B.C.

I have as yet no report of this year's excavations at Troy: a detailed account by Blegen of last year's campaign will be found in *AJA.* 1934, 223 ff.

H. G. G. PAYNE.

*British School, Athens.*



## NOTES

**The Prometheus.**—Mr. Kitto's article (*JHS.* LIV, 14) prompts the following question:—Has anyone considered the *Prometheus* in relation to the Semitic (Babylonian) myth of the Fall of Man?

We are familiar only with the highly-moralised version which appears in *Genesis*. There it has been moulded by the teaching of the Hebrew prophets as to the nature of God and His relation with mankind. In *Genesis* the myth is used as the vehicle of a meditation on the origin and nature of sin, the permanent value of which is not in dispute. But what was its original form before it had undergone this moralising process? I do not know whether any information is available. But it is not impossible that in the original form of the myth, common to all the Semitic peoples, the moral character of God was not beyond criticism from the Christian standpoint; which every modern writer does, in fact, adopt instinctively. An a-moral or immoral deity may be a contradiction in terms to us. But only to us. Such a being might well be defied by man, and perhaps eventually defeated by him. The Babylonian version of the story of the Flood, which is older than the one in *Genesis*, shews that the idea of a deity hostile to mankind presented no difficulty to the Semitic mind. This conception, with *Prometheus* in the rôle of Adam, might help to solve the problem of the relations between *Prometheus* and *Zeus* which Mr. Kitto regards as the heart of the difficulty (p. 14).

Mr. Kitto's assumption that the High God must be all-powerful and immortal (p. 15) is, I think, open to question. It is doubtful whether anyone has really envisaged divine omnipotence or eternity unless he has been influenced by the Hebrew prophets; as everyone in England to-day has been, whether he knows it or not. A limited deity is a much simpler and more natural conception.

There may be nothing in my suggestion, or it may be impossible to shew whether there is or not. I have ventured to make it because I have noticed that writers on ancient religion usually fight curiously shy of the Old Testament (Sir J. G. Frazer is a partial exception).

This may be for fear of wounding religious susceptibilities. But the people whose religious

susceptibilities would be wounded by the idea that the author of *Genesis* 3 made use of a Babylonian myth which might throw light on the meaning of a Greek play, are unlikely to be readers of this *Journal*, or deeply interested in the problems presented by the *Prometheus*. There is no reason why the Bible story, or its background, should not be brought into relation with Aeschylus if any useful purpose can be served thereby.

R. H. MALDEN.

### **Odysseus and Elpenor on a vase in Boston.**—

The picture reproduced on Pl. XI decorates the front of an Attic red-figured pelike acquired this year by the Museum of Fine Arts.<sup>1</sup> The vase is nearly nineteen inches (0.474 m.) high, and unbroken except at the lip. A thick yellowish-white pigment was used for the inscriptions, the contours of the rocky landscape, the reeds behind Elpenor, and the pit with the blood of the sheep dripping into it. Though this has flaked off except for one small fragment, it is still possible to make out all these details as shewn in the drawing, since the surface they covered is without lustre.

The reverse of the pelike has a representation of Poseidon with trident pursuing Amymone carrying a water-jar, while one of her sisters runs away in fear—a stock subject, competently drawn, but of no particular significance.

Some two years ago Professor Beazley recognised from photographs that these pictures are by the Lykaon painter, an artist of the group of Polygnotos active about 440 B.C., whom he named after the pelike with the departure of the warrior Lykaon in the British Museum (E 379).<sup>2</sup> The Czartoryski krater, now admirably published in *Vases in Poland*, is by far the finest of the twelve works previously assigned by Beazley to the Lykaon painter. But the new Underworld picture holds its own beside it as a masterpiece

<sup>1</sup> An account of it has been given in the *Bulletin of the Museum*, XXXIII, 1934, pp. 40-44, with three illustrations; and it will be more fully published in the second part of *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts*.

<sup>2</sup> Beazley, *VA.*, 172-5; *AV.*, 398; *VP.*, 54-57. More recently Miss Richter attributed the new pelike independently to the Lykaon painter.



of drawing in the classical style, in addition to its interest as the only surviving representation in ancient art of a famous incident in the Nekyia of the *Odyssey*.

The concluding lines of the passage describing the meeting of Odysseus with Elpenor (XI, 81-83) must have been clearly in the mind of the artist:

Νῶν μὲν ὡς ἐπύσσιν ἀμειβομένο στυγερόισιν  
ἤμην, ἐγὼ μὲν βουθέην ἐξ' αἵματι φάργαρον λυχών,  
εἰδούλῳ δ' ἐπύρθεον ἑταίρου πῶλλ' ἀγέροντι.

In the centre, Odysseus (ΟΔΥΣΣΕΥΣ), seated on a rock with his chin resting on his right hand, gazes sorrowfully into the staring eyes of his dead comrade. His left hand holds the sword with which he has cut the throats of the two sheep lying before him. Their blood drips into the pit—*ὅσσον τι πυγούσιον ἔνθα καὶ εἶδα*—prepared for the purpose. The ghost of Elpenor (ΕΛΠΕΝΟΡΟΣ), whose legs from the knees down are hidden in a depression of the ground, leans his body and raised left arm against a rock, the hand grasping a projection from it, while his right hand, planted on another rock, gives him the additional support he needs to hold himself erect. One is reminded of the epithet *ἀμνητιά κάρσνα*, and of the description of Agamemnon later on in the story (II, 393-4):

ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἱ εἴ' ἦν ἐς ἑμπεδὸς οὐδέ τι κίονα,  
οἷη περ πόρος ἰοκιν ἐν γναυποτοῖσι μέλαισι.

The rendering of the landscape recalls Circe's description of the entrance to the Lower World (X, 513-5):

ἔνθα μὲν εἰς Ἀχλὺντα Πυριελεγέθων τι μέλαισι  
Κάκωτος θ', ὅς δ' ἔη Στυγὸς ὄβριτος ἔστιν ἀπορρώξ,  
πίτρη τε ξυνόεις τε δύναι ποταμῶν ἑριζούπων.

The reeds suggest the proximity of the rivers, and the rock at their confluence is represented by the undulating line against which Elpenor leans.

Hermes (Η(Ε)ΡΜΟΣ), who stands behind Odysseus, plays no part in this episode of the *Odyssey*. The artist may have added him because of his connection, as Psychopompos, with the Underworld. It is possible also that the god appeared in one of the lost tragedies dealing with this theme.

L. D. CASKEY.

#### Zeno's game of τάβλη (A.P. ix. 483).

ὁμοῖα γὰρ Σήκωνα, παλαιστοῦχον βοαιήεα,  
παίγνιον ἀφράστου βεταλόντα κῦβαν,  
τοῖα ποικιλόταυτος ἔλεν ὄντας, εὐτ' ἀπὸ λευκοῦ,  
τοῖς καὶ ὀπισθεῖσιν εἰς ὁδὸν ἔρχομένω.

ἐπεὶ μὲν ἔκτος ἔχην, μίαν εἰκαστοὺς αὐτὰρ ὁ σοῦμος  
δισσὸς ἀμφέκων ἴσος ἔην δεκάτην 10  
ὅς τε πάλαι μετὰ σοῦμος ἔχγε δού' μονόδα δ' ἄλλην,  
ψῆφον τῇε ποσάτην ἀμφέκοντα διβος.  
ἀλλὰ μὲν δὲ δισσὸς μὲν ἐν ὀγδοάτῃ λίτα χώρῳ  
καὶ τῶσος ἑτέρως εἰς θέσιν ἐδεκάτην  
ἀμφὶ δευδοκάτῳ δὲ διέπρεπον εἰκαστοὶ ἄλλοι, 15  
καὶ τρικαίδεκάτῃ ψῆφον ἔκαστο μίαν  
εἰζυγίαι Ἀντίγρουν διακόσμων· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ  
ἴσος ἔμμεν τύπος πενταμεκαδικάτῳ,  
ἑκτοκαίδεκάτῃ παναροῖος εἰσέτι δ' ἄλλος  
ἔχεν ὀγδοάβιος τέτρατος ἐκ πυράτου, 20  
αὐτὰρ ὅσος λευκὰ καὶ ὀκνήσας πεσού,  
καὶ τῇε ἰσοσολῆν οὐ νοῶν παγίδα  
δοῖα καὶ ἐξ καὶ πέτε κατήγαγεν· αὐτίκα δ' ὀκτώ 25  
ἔζυγας εἶχεν ἑκάς πρῶτος μεριζομένης,  
τάβλην καίοντες πάντες, ὅππῃ καὶ ἡ ἱερὰτος αὐτὸς  
κένῃς τὰς ἀλέγους οὐκ ὑπάλυξε τάχα.

The purpose of this note is to shew the faultiness of Henry Jackson's reconstruction of Zeno's game of τάβλη (*JPh.* vii, 1877, pp. 240 ff.); and to suggest that the correct solution is given by Becq de Fouquières (*Jeu des Anciens*, 1<sup>re</sup> edn., 1863, pp. 371 ff.).

Agathias' epigram forms our chief and most circumstantial evidence for the game; the incident narrated must have become a commonplace among anecdotists, as Agathias himself was not born until nearly fifty years after Zeno's death in 491 A.D. Jackson and Becq both suppose that Agathias is describing a game of 'xii scripta'.<sup>1</sup> But whereas the latter was played on a board with three rows of 12 points (see my papers in *Greece and Rome*, Oct. 1934 and Feb. 1935), τάβλη needed only two such rows, as is clear from the epigram. Τάβλη, in fact, is a direct descendant of 'xii scripta'; although both are of the backgammon type,<sup>2</sup> τάβλη is the more developed form and more akin to the modern game; it is to be identified with the game of *tabula* or *alea* described by Isidore (*Orig.* xviii. 60 ff.).

The point of the epigram is that Zeno's men were so placed that a throw of 2, 6, and 5 gave him eight ἔζυγας, thus virtually ruining his game: for ἔζυγας, as Jackson shewed, are the 'blots' of backgammon, single pieces liable to capture if one's opponent chances on an appro-

<sup>1</sup> Lamer (*RE.*, s.v. *tabula tabula*) rightly refuses to admit that Becq's theory can be applied to *πῆ λυβία*, but is wrong in alleging that the game is nowhere named; Agathias gives the name, τάβλη.

<sup>2</sup> 'Tables,' the generic name, is more accurate; τάβλη is not exactly equivalent either to backgammon or to the French *tric-trac*, but is merely one representative of the family.







taken him off the board, which in games of this sort is not allowed until a player has all his men in his home table (i.e. for White, 19-24). Bceq's reconstruction (accepted in essentials by Stadtmüller in his edition of the Anthology) thus fulfils the conditions of the epigram, and must be regarded as correct; Mr. Murray tells me that he arrived at the same position independently, which confirms Bceq's theory.

Let us now turn to Jackson. He arranges his board (see his diagram Fig. 2) with 1 and 24 on the right-hand side of the board, a perfectly possible system. But he is fundamentally wrong in his unnatural direction of movement. He makes White move forward from 12 towards 1 (on his diagram) and back again from 24 to 13,

which the *εἰς* or blots could not be moved. Such a rule nowhere exists in this family of games, and of course makes any real play impossible, as may be seen from experiment; and as without it Zeno is not forced to his eight blots, Jackson's reconstruction must be wrong.

Nothing, in fact, suggests that the blots were immovable *per se*; only their position might make them immovable for the purpose of any one throw, since their progress would be blocked by the presence of two or more hostile pieces on the point to which they might otherwise go. It is position alone that matters, and Bceq's arrangement satisfies this condition, Jackson's does not.<sup>1</sup> This brings us to a most important piece of evidence, in which Mr. Murray has solved a

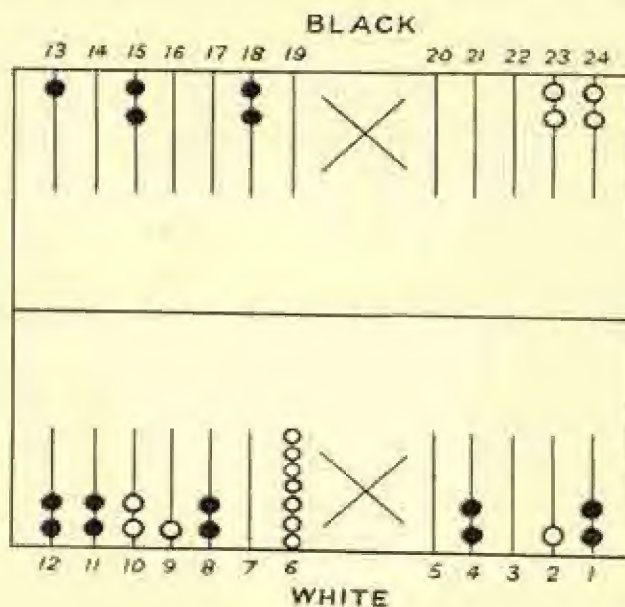


FIG. 2.

instead of through a natural progression from 1 through 12 up to 24. Such a direction is quite opposed to the invariable practice in games of this type, and precludes any natural movement from the lower to the upper tables. Jackson then, in order to arrive at the necessary eight blots, puts *κοῦρα* at 24, thinking that it must be an end point, *Ἀντιπῶς* at 1, and *εἰς* provisionally at 2. But this arrangement is forced on him by his unnatural direction; apart from anything else, it quite ignores the methodical, neatly expressed Greek order. However, even so, Zeno is not so placed that eight blots are inevitable; he could still have saved two of them; therefore Jackson is driven to invent a rule by

problem which has hitherto caused the greatest misapprehension. Isidore, in describing the moves in 'tabula' (certainly the same game as *τάβλη*), states (*Orig.* xviii. 67): 'calculi partim ordline moventur, partim vage: ideo alios ordinarios, alios vagos appellat; qui vero moveri omnino non possunt, incitos dicunt.' Mr. Murray points out that Isidore's termin-

<sup>1</sup> Jackson supports his view of the *εἰς* by an analogy (itself false) from *lanuncul*, an utterly different type of game; he further states, wrongly, that the men were originally arranged in threes, an inference from Ovid's account of the game of *Merels* (*A.A.* iii. 365), another quite different game.



ology need not and in fact does not apply to the men *per se* (an assumption which has so much vitiated most researches on this subject), but only in virtue of their relative position. 'Ordinarii' are men moving in rank, two or more at a time for protection, as in backgammon: 'vagi' are single blots (ἀγροί) which have 'strayed' from their companions:<sup>1</sup> 'inciti' are pieces which at a given throw cannot be moved at all. Thus, according to the fluctuations of the game, (a) an *ordinarius* can become *vagus* if its companions are played to another point, (b) any *vagus* can become an *ordinarius* if another piece is played to its point, (c) either *ordinarii* or *vagi* are also *inciti* if for the moment their way is blocked by hostile *ordinarii*. Now, does not this apply admirably to Zeno's game, as reconstructed by Becq? For example, the ἀγροί on 9 and 23 are *vagi* which have become *inciti*; one of the *ordinarii* on 10 becomes *vagus* when its mate is played to 16, but the other is *incitus*. Thus Mr. Murray's account illustrates Isidore and makes him plain by means of Agathias; and the obvious fact that Isidore is describing 'tabula' and not 'latrunculi' or any other game, when taken with this explanation, rids the history of these games of a most undesirable will-o'-the-wisp.

There is one further point. What is the meaning of vv. 25-6 of the epigram? Götting apparently took ὀκτώ with πρὸς, interpreting 'he had eight divided pieces, which were previously ὀκτώ'; but the use of the present participle then appears strained, and the whole run of the line is against the interpretation. Jacobs suggested πρὸς ὀκτὶ ἰσχυράς; Jackson objects both to this and to Götting's translation on the ground that two of the ultimate eight blots existed before Zeno's fatal throw. The objection, though a real one, cannot be pressed: Agathias may have been speaking loosely. Stadtmüller appears to take ἀπὸσπαστες as a middle used absolutely, translating 'he had eight blots which previously when in partnership (ἀπὸσπαστες) were not separated (ὀκτώ)'; this solution is ingenious to a degree, but it seems very hard to extract from the Greek. A definite decision seems scarcely possible; I should like to think that Stadtmüller is right. Jackson's own emendation is πρὸς ὀκτὶ ὀρίσασθαι, 'marked out as prizes.'

ROLAND G. AUSTIN.

**The Campaign of Marathon.**—I have through the courtesy of Professor Sotiriadis of the University of Athens received an extract from *Papert*, 1933, 8, p. 377, entitled 'The Campaign of Marathon according to a recent critic.' In this paper Professor Sotiriadis refers to my paper on the campaign of Marathon (*JHS.* 1932, pp. 13-24). I regret to find that he considers my paper 'an unjustifiable attack on Herodotus.' I may say at once that my studies of the military campaigns described by Herodotus fill me with admiration for the father of history. I said in my paper (p. 13): 'We have to remember in dealing with the story of Marathon that Herodotus was writing long after the event with the greater event of Xerxes' invasion between him and the campaign of Marathon. It was as if a British historian were to attempt to write now the history of the South African War without any of the carefully catalogued records which are to-day at his disposal. The wonder then is not that there are improbabilities in Herodotus's story of Marathon, but that there are so few of them.' Indeed, as I say (p. 24), my story 'involves only one important departure from Herodotus, the date of the fall of Eretria.'

It is upon this point that Professor Sotiriadis challenges me. He says (p. 380) that Herodotus VI. 100, in which the appeal of the Eretrians to Athens is described, is an insertion (ὑπορροή) in the story of the campaign of Marathon and refers to events which preceded the first landing of the Persians in Euboea and the fall of Karystos. It is quite possible that Professor Sotiriadis is right, and it is arguable whether the words with which Ch. 100 begins refer to what was taking place while the Persians were ravaging the country round Karystos as described in Ch. 99 or to events which preceded the landing in Euboea. Indeed it is quite probable that the Eretrians, remembering the part which they had taken in the burning of Sardis, were in a panic when they learned of the approach of the Persians to Euboea and appealed at once to the Athenians for help. The point is immaterial. The real points are:—

1. Whether the whole Persian army landed at Marathon after the fall of Eretria;
2. Whether Miltiades marched out from Athens before or after the fall of Eretria.

With regard to (1) I have already pointed out (*l. c.* p. 16) that the whole of the Persian expedition could not have been required against little Eretria.

With this view Professor Sotiriadis seems to agree, for he says (p. 379), after speaking of the

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<sup>1</sup> In the earlier *scripta* game the Latin term for a blot may have been 'diatans'; see S. G. Owen's note on Ovid, *Trist.* ii. 475-6.



capture of Naxos, 'therefore as Naxos itself had shortly before fallen such an easy prey to the Persians under Darius, how should we not expect the occupation of Eretria before the march against Athens to be a far easier operation?' Further, it is certain that the whole Persian fleet could not have been used on the narrow waters of the Euripus Strait.

If the whole Persian expedition landed on the plain of Marathon after the fall of Eretria and before the Athenians left Athens, with the object of attacking Athens, ordinary military prudence would have led them to secure the passes through the Pentelikon range, which we know they did not do.

In a further paper which he sends me (*Spæck*, 1934, 9, p. 16) Professor Sotiriadis agrees with me that instead of doing this the Persians encamped east of the Charadra between Mt. Stavrokoraki and the sea. I maintain that the only possible military explanation of this is that a part of the Persian army was so disposed covering the siege of Eretria.

With regard to the second point, whether Miltiades marched out before or after the fall of Eretria, my view is that if he had not done the former he would have been guilty of grave military imprudence, and nothing of what we know of his conduct makes that at all probable. If he waited to move out from Athens until after the news of the landing of the Persians on the plain of Marathon had reached him he ran the grave risk of being anticipated by the Persians in the Pentelikon range. On the other hand, if he knew from his look-out posts that the Persian fleet had not left Euboea he could march his army out without risk, as he would then be assured of reaching the Pentelikon range first if the Persians were to land at Marathon, since the disembarkment of a considerable force takes time, or alternatively he would know that if the Persians were to sail round to Athens, which entailed rounding Sunium, he could anticipate them by the shorter land route.

Neither of these points is affected by the time of the appeal of the Eretrians, i.e. whether it reached Athens before or after the first landing of the Persians in Euboea.

F. MAURICE.

**Ares in Coronea.**—In a recent article,<sup>1</sup> Mrs. A. D. Ure discusses the interpretation of a scene on an early Boeotian vase in the British Museum,<sup>2</sup> and establishes it as referring, not to the Pana-

thenaic games, as formerly suggested, but to the Pamboeotian festival at Coronea. On the vase in question a procession of men advances to a flaming altar, behind which stands Athena Itonia in the forecourt of her temple. Immediately behind her rises an image of a snake, placed on a stand, and equalling in height the image of Athena. Mrs. Ure considers that the snake 'may well have been some primitive under-world deity who was on the spot before Itonia came down from Thessaly.' This under-world deity she identifies, on the basis of two passages in Pausanias and Strabo,<sup>3</sup> as Zeus-Hades, a chthonic conception akin to Zeus Meilichius. Is it possible that in the snake and the notion of a primitive chthonic deity there may be some reference to the cult of Ares?

My suggestion is based on the mention of a horse-race ἀνά τοῦ Ἀρεως in an inscription of the second century A.C.,<sup>4</sup> which records the programme of the Pamboeotian festival at Coronea. On the evidence of this race, Foucart, in originally publishing the inscription,<sup>5</sup> wished to assign the worship of Ares to this locality, and would emend the passage in Strabo from Hades to Ares.<sup>6</sup>

Mrs. Ure stresses the likeness of the Zeus-Hades conception to the chthonic Zeus Meilichius, and points to the association of the latter with the snake in various localities. I may mention the various attempts which have been made to attribute an original chthonic significance to Ares. Kern<sup>7</sup> makes a statement that 'Kriegsgöttheiten sind fast immer unterirdische Wesen.' F. Schwenn in an article on Ares in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*<sup>8</sup> notes the various legendary connexions of Ares with the snake in Thebes,<sup>9</sup> and concludes that in Thebes at least Ares was originally worshipped in the form of a snake. In all other known cults of Ares, particularly in Argos, Arcadia, and Laconia, Schwenn finds some evidence for Ares as an

<sup>1</sup> *Paus.* IX, 34, 1:—ἐν δὲ τῇ κατὰ χαλκὸν πεπονημένη Ἀθηναίᾳ Ἰωνίᾳ καὶ Ἀἰεὶ ἔστιν ἀγάλματα. Strabo IX, 2, 29, p. 411, Cas.:—αὐτοκαθίσταται δὲ τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ ὁ Ἀἰεὶς κατὰ τινὰ, ὡς φασί, μυστικῇ αἰτίᾳ.

<sup>2</sup> *IG*, VII, 2871.

<sup>3</sup> *BCH*, IX, 1885, p. 430, n. 36.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Die Religion d. Griechen*, pp. 38 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Teubner, 1925-24, pp. 223 ff.

<sup>7</sup> In particular δῖος Ἀρεως (monster which Cadmus slew was son of Ares), Ἀρεὶς κρήνη (where Cadmus slew the snake); the descendants of Ares sprung from dragons' teeth have significant names, Echion, Chthonios, Peloros, etc.

<sup>1</sup> *JHS*, 49, pp. 167 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *CVA*, B.M., fasc. 2, Pl. 65, 4.



original chthonic divinity. P. Kretschmer<sup>1</sup> calls him 'ein Tod und Verderben bringender Dämon der Erdtiefe, eine chthonische Gottheit, die als Strafer der Missetat, besonders des Mordes gedacht wurde.'

The whole matter is highly problematical. But the very fact that there was a doubt even in antiquity<sup>2</sup> about the identity of the god who shared the temple with Athena at Coronea, suggests that the original significance and identity of the god had become confused in later anthropomorphic representations. The oldest form of representation is no doubt preserved for us in the snake on the sixth-century vase. Whether this very early worship should be connected with the Ares of the late inscription may seem questionable, but the inscriptional records of the local festivals are notably conservative in preserving customs of earlier centuries. Moreover, the Coronean horse-race is the only occurrence of the race in agonistic inscriptions, and such unique ceremonies in local programmes are usually survivals from the earliest times.

For the nature of the race I would suggest a possible parallel in the rites of the Roman Mars. In the festival of the October horse the central feature of the celebration was a horse-race in the campus from the altar of Mars, at the conclusion of which the victorious horse was sacrificed to the god by the flamen Martialis.<sup>3</sup> In the custom of decorating the horse's neck with a garland of sheaves commentators have seen an indication that the sacrifice was performed 'ob frugum eventum.' *ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀπείου* in Coronea may have comprised some similar ceremonies.

IRENE RINGWOOD ARNOLD.

#### New Antiquities in the Manchester Museum.—

Since I noticed some of the better Greek vases of the Manchester Museum last year,<sup>4</sup> the Museum has been given a collection of antiquities by Miss A. E. Barlow. Besides the Corinthian mirror and two cups published here, the same collection includes a fine Corinthian

alabastron, a red-figured neck amphora of about 450 B.C., a white lekythos of the same period, a later white lekythos in polychrome technique, some fourth-century Italian vases, and a Tanagra figure. Before describing these new acquisitions I should like to add two notes to my previous article: the cup (III, H. 7) belongs to the Cassel group<sup>5</sup> and is the twin of British Museum B457, the red-figured pyxis (III I, 1) is attributed by Beazley to the painter of Brussels R330.<sup>6</sup>

The bronze mirror (Pl. XII) is the finest piece in the Barlow collection. It was bought in Athens in 1887, and then said to have been 'found in a tomb by the Fount of Peirene near old Corinth, winter 1886-7.'<sup>7</sup> The mirror itself seems to have been plain except for a beaded rim and an incised cable pattern just inside it. The curved bar between the mirror and the caryatid is ornamented with a plastic volute at each end, a beaded edge, and incised triangles along the bar. The two Erotes are swung out into the plane of the central figure and the disk above them; their hair and the under edge of their wings is beaded, the nipples and the feathers of the wings are incised. The main figure is moving forward, her right foot is slightly advanced, she originally held a flower in her right hand, her left hand holds up her skirt. Her hair falls in a mane down her back except for two braided locks over the left and three over the right breast. She wears Ionian chiton and himation, the folds are incised, including the central folds between the legs; the patterns, triangles round the neck and cross-hatching along the edge of the himation are also incised. The artist has used incision instead of modelling for the folds, perhaps because he was primarily interested in the outlines of the group and the intervening spaces rather than in its plastic quality.

Thanks to Payne, a good deal is known about Corinthian sculpture of the sixth century B.C. A head from a pyxis in Manchester, which seems to be from the same mould as Payne's no. 882, shows the style of about 575 B.C. (Fig. 1). The Theban sphinx<sup>8</sup> gives the style of the middle of the century. The mirror is later than both of these and goes with terracottas of about 530 B.C.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, it is earlier than the majority of Corinthian mirrors, in which the Erotes and the central figure are conceived

<sup>1</sup> *Glotta*, 1921 (11), p. 195. For other references to chthonic significance cf. H. W. Stoll, *Über die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Ares*; P. Decharme, *Mythologie de la Grèce antique*, p. 178 (storm god); Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre* I, 419; F. A. Voigt, *Beiträge zur Mythologie des Ares und der Athene* (Leipz. Stud. IV, pp. 230 ff., weather god); Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, 1379.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Strabo and Paus. passages above, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Wisowa ap. Müller, Vol. V, 4, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, pp. 131 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Manchester Memoirs*, LXXVII, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *JHS*, 1932, p. 191.

<sup>6</sup> Beazley, *AF*, p. 283; *Compara Fragmenta*, pp. 24-5.

<sup>7</sup> Payne, *NC*, pl. 49. 3, p. 236.

<sup>8</sup> Jenkins, *B.S.A.* XXXII, pl. XVI. 9, p. 35.



plastically and the artist is more interested in the figures than the intervening spaces. Payne



FIG. 1.—HEAD FROM A PYXIS.

publishes a mirror from Corinth<sup>1</sup> which has the same cable pattern, the same general

and plastic. If the details of the Manchester mirror are considered, the treatment of the hair of the Erotes and the shoulder locks of the central figure is like the kouros of Etymokleidas,<sup>2</sup> which is inscribed in the Corinthian alphabet; the use of incision for patterns occurs again on the women from Albania in the Louvre, whose kalathos is like the base of the Manchester mirror,<sup>3</sup> and on the lady from Olympia in Athens, where, though the modelling is more advanced, the treatment of the hanging ends of the himation is also to be compared.<sup>4</sup> The mirror from Corinth, the kouros of Etymokleidas, the lady from Albania, and the lady from Olympia are all dated in the last quarter of the sixth century, *s.c.* The Manchester mirror seems to be earlier than any of them; probably it is Corinthian work of about 530 *s.c.*

The second piece of the Barlow gift to be described here is a Little Master cup of the BO type.<sup>5</sup> There is no picture inside. Outside, between the handle palmettes, which have a red centre and incised petals, the picture on both



FIG. 2.—LITTLE-MASTER KYLIX.

arrangement and the same feeling for the pattern of the whole group, but the style is different; hair, folds, and architecture are more elaborate

<sup>1</sup> Payne, *NC.* pl. 46. 1-4, p. 246.

<sup>2</sup> Payne *NC.* pl. 46. 2, p. 245, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Langlotz, *Bildhauerschulen*, pl. 18a, p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 40c, p. 83.

<sup>5</sup> *JHS.* 1932, p. 187.



sides is the same (Fig. 2), seven dancers in pairs except for the right-hand one who looks back to the dancers on the other side. Inclusion is used for hair, eyes, breast-line and markings on the thighs, red for hair and chest. The drawing is not distinguished but the figures are lively and the whole makes a cheerful design. There are other unsigned Little Master cups with this kind of picture; for instance Hoppin *CV.* pl. 4, fig. 7, Paris, Bib. Nat. *CV.* pl. 47, figs. 2-3 (de Ridder,

outside the party itself, composed of six young men reclining and conversing with limation over their legs and striped cushions under their elbows; one holds a phiale and another a skyphos; there are three picnic baskets in the background and a large round object with a cross bar and strings. This is probably a shield: a shield is not out of place, as is shewn by a cup in the British Museum (95. 10-27. 2), and a shield looks like this on another cup in the British Museum (E 56).



FIG. 3.—RED-FIGURED KYLIX.

no. 318), Villa Giulia. *CV.* pl. 25, figs. 12-13. The Nicosthenes cup, Berlin 1805,<sup>1</sup> is not unlike. The Manchester cup might well come from Nicosthenes' factory.

Lastly, there is a red-figured cup of which the exterior is illustrated (Fig. 3). On the interior is a youth with a stick walking unsteadily. The inside shews the after effects of the party, the

Beazley attributes the Manchester cup to the painter<sup>2</sup> of Tarquinia RC 1121, a follower of the Pistoxenus painter. The long eye with the pupil in the inside corner and the tiny ear are particularly characteristic of this artist, and can be found again in others of his works; for instance, the cup in Bologna.<sup>3</sup> T. B. L. WEBSTER.

<sup>1</sup> *Campana Fragmenta*, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *NdS.* 1927, pl. 21, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Pfuhl, *MuZ.* fig. 258.



**The Pillars at the South Gate of Troy VI.**—In a report<sup>1</sup> on excavations at Troy in 1933, Professor C. W. Blegen writes: 'The great stone pillars, or baetyls, which Dörpfeld discovered outside the south wall of the flanking tower were completely cleared. . . . These baetyls,<sup>2</sup> of impressive dimensions, constitute one of the most remarkable features of Troy VI, and their significance for the religious cults of the Sixth City has not hitherto been adequately recognised. Probably to be associated with the baetyls is a massive, altar-like base surrounded by a circular stone-paved area inside the tower.'

I think that the purpose of the pillars can be understood from a passage of Walter Leaf (*Troy* [London, 1912], 90 f.): 'The most remarkable feature of this (the south) gate is to be found in two flat stones set up on end and standing 4 or 5 inches in front of the tower with a slope corresponding to that of the wall itself. It is difficult to imagine that these stones had any structural use; it has been suggested that they were more probably religious symbols, a "Jachin and Boaz" protecting the gateway. Their situation and significance . . . are obscured . . . by a Roman foundation wall. . . .'

The pillars also, therefore, may well have been apotropaic. They may have been associated with apotropaic ritual, a possibility on which the new excavations may enable suggestions to be made. I connect the pillars with the divine sanctity of the Trojan wall, which is equally one of the most remarkable features of the traditions about the defence and capture of Troy. The Achaeans seem to have thought many occult manoeuvres necessary before they could pierce the wall originally built by Poseidon and Apollo. (I have attempted to interpret the traditions in

this sense in *Vergil's Troy* [Oxford, 1932], 105 ff., and elsewhere.) The pillars are then to be compared with other apotropaic agencies, recorded to have been situated at the gate at which the magic circle of the wall was finally broken by means of the wooden horse, when the city was taken: especially the bones of Laomedon, hurried in the 'upper threshold,' which must be 'torn' before Troy could fall (Serv. ad Verg. *Aen.* II. 15, 241; Plant. *Bacchid.*, 953 ff.).

According to Quintus Smyrnaeus (I. 800 ff.), the Trojans embalmed (ἐρρύσανε) the body of Penthesilea on a projecting tower, beside the bones of Laomedon, to gratify Ares, and Penthesilea herself. It is quite possible that Quintus here ultimately depends on something like local tradition, as he does elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> If so, he may be preserving some faded memory of rites connected with the altar-like base, surrounded by a circular stone-paved area inside the tower, which Professor Blegen associates with the pillars. A circular shape is appropriate, furthermore, to apotropaic intentions.

Troy was remembered as a place emphatically hard to enter.<sup>4</sup> Even the names *Troy* and *Ilium* can both be traced with some plausibility to roots carrying this significance or connotation (as I suggested in *Antiquity*, VI. [1932], 453 f., and VII. [1933], 132). Whether this is a coincidence or not, the pillars can testify the faith of the Trojans themselves in a divine protection which strengthened their defence.<sup>5</sup>

W. F. J. KNIGHT.

<sup>1</sup> R. Heinze, *Vergil's epische Technik* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1915/1928), 20 note 1.

<sup>2</sup> This circumstance may explain how (as I try to shew in a forthcoming article in *Folk-Lore*) certain myths became attached to stories of Troy, mainly because they expressed—originally for quite different purposes—the fundamental ideas of exclusion and difficult entrance.

<sup>3</sup> The notion of magical defence at Troy is paralleled in Egypt, where it sometimes controlled architectural plans (C. E. Drioton in *Bull. de l'Égyptologie*, XXII. [1931], 1 ff.). A similar intention belongs to Greek propylaics (Casson, *Macedonia*, 235, 251 f.).

<sup>1</sup> *JHS.* 1933, 298.

<sup>2</sup> The pillars should not be called 'baetyls,' a name applicable only to acrolites and prehistoric stone implements believed to be thunder-bolts (George F. Moore, *Baetylia*, in *AJA.* VII. [1903], 198 ff., who maintains (205, note 1) that the whole matter was correctly stated by Falconnet in 1729; I owe this reference to Mr. F. N. Pryce, and information on the question to Mr. G. A. Wainwright).



## NOTICES OF BOOKS

### **Prähistorische Forschung in Kleinasien.**

By K. BITTEL. Pp. 147; 21 plates, 1 folding map, 2 figs. Istanbul: Archäologisches Institut des deutschen Reiches, 1934. 13.50 m.

This is the first book that has been published on Anatolian prehistory, for Götze's *Kleinasien* does not cover the same ground, while the contribution by Przeworski is short and has the additional drawback of being written in Polish. Yet the subject is of importance to most prehistorians and of vital interest to some. In Anatolia one may find links between north and south, west and east, and archaeologists occasionally claim to have done so: recently, for instance, Dr. Frankfort's theories on the western connections of the Uruk culture have challenged speculation. Nor is it possible to specialise on Minoan or Bulgarian antiquities or on those of the regions between without being compelled sooner or later to define their relations to some part of Asia Minor.

Apart from external contacts, the western and eastern provinces of this important country present in themselves a number of attractive problems and are at present one of the most promising fields for research. But research has till now been impeded, firstly because the material is distributed or inaccessible, secondly because there has been no authoritative review of its implications as a whole.

Dr. Bittel has supplied both needs in a treatise which, though not long, is so compact, so ingeniously arranged, that it is extremely comprehensive. In the first place, he has catalogued all the sites that have produced finds of the periods from the palaeolithic to the late bronze age, noting the museums where these finds are exhibited and the publications wherein they are mentioned. Even to those of us who have made a special study of the subject the large number of sites collected is a surprise: it is obvious that no one could have made such a catalogue without having an intimate knowledge of Turkey on the one hand, and an extensive acquaintance with published work and European and American museums on the other. The catalogue, supplemented by an excellent map on which the sites are marked, has the great

merit of standardising the spelling of Turkish place names by adopting the form endorsed by the Turkish Government, which is the only logical thing to do.

After the chalcolithic age, there are two distinct elements in prehistoric Asia Minor, with a sharp geographical division between them: the western culture of which the representative site is Troy, and the eastern, typified by Alişar. East and west meet sufficiently to exchange goods. Alişar Ib, for instance, imported and copied the two-handled goblets of Troy II, thus affording a useful date for the Trojan sequence, since Alişar Ib can itself be dated before 2200 or 2300 B.C. But there is another connexion yet more suggestive. On pl. 6 is a striking group of vases from Ahlatibeli near Ankara. They might have come from Senirce or Yortan, so close is the resemblance, yet they were associated with other vases purely 'eastern' in character and belonging to the Alişar I period. Here alone are the eastern and western elements found both at home and side by side. Their discovery by Dr. Reşit Galip Bey and Dr. Hamit Zübeyr Bey was one of the most important archaeological events of 1933, and we are grateful for having it brought so promptly to our notice.

The discussion of the western or Troadic group passes in review architecture, ceramics, metal work and other aspects of civilisation which profit by the light they throw on each other. Concerning Yortan a number of misconceptions are cleared away by insistence on the fact that the cemetery does not all belong to the same date. Some of its vases, however, together with others from Akhisar (Thyateira) and Çandarlı (Pitane) are identical in form with vases from the first two settlements at Therai which are accepted as contemporary with Troy I, a fact which points to an earlier date than the one proposed on p. 35. Senirce is tentatively equated with Troy II, though I should feel inclined to regard all its products as earlier except some fragments with a bright red wash. At Troy itself, the slipped bowls with the cross inside, which are common in the fifth settlement still remain unexplained, an omission which is, perhaps, wise in view of the imminence



of fresh evidence, though they and their fellows seem inconsistent with the alleged homogeneous character of the Troy II-V wares (pp. 33, 92).

We must now pass on to the more general aspect of the book. Dating has recently become disturbingly controversial, but Dr. Bittel's verdict is reassuring in so far as he adopts neither the high dates of Frankfort nor the low ones of Åberg, and his arguments are convincing. The beginning of Troy VI is, fortunately, fixed by Dr. Blegen's excavations well in the first half of the second millennium, and this fact, mentioned in a footnote on p. 20, confirms a suggestion made on the page above. The chapter dealing with foreign relations is a very stimulating one. While the Anatolian element in Minoan Crete is considered to be less strong than some have supposed, a more active commerce is shown to have existed between the west Anatolian culture on the one hand, and the Cyclades, Greece and Bulgaria on the other, than we had suspected (see map on p. 97). A reference should, however, be given to Pappavasileiou's *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι ἀρχαίων τόπων*. On Macedonia alone the information is not up to date, since the latest excavation mentioned is the 1925 campaign at Vardarosfisa, whereas Mr. Heurtley's subsequent publications of other sites contain a great deal of evidence on the incroachment of the 'Trojan civilisation into the area in question. Hagios Mamas is itself in Macedonia and not in Thessaly as implied on p. 43. Hoping that unimportant corrections like these may be regarded as a tribute of respect for an almost perfect book by its reviewer, I will add that the reference to 'bronze and copper' implements at Thermi should be modified, for the analyses published as well as those obtained recently shew them to be copper with one exception. Again, I do not think that Chios has yet produced any Mycenaean objects. The map places them in the Volissos district, where I only know of much earlier finds from a cave at Hagios Galas, but there is no reference in the text.

In all controversial matters such as the origin of the battle axe and of the megaron, the introduction of mottled ware at Vasiliki and elsewhere, red ware in Troy II, one is struck by the unbiased and level-headed judgments which are the outcome of the author's wide experience of different branches of archaeology. The book is made complete by a short account of previous works both archaeological and geographical and by twenty-one excellent and representative plates and drawings.

W. L.

**Études crétoises. III : Tyliссos, villas minoennes.** By J. HAZZIDAKIS. Pp. xvi + 112; 33 plates, 19 figs. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1934. 100 fr.

This is the final report of the excavations made between 1908 and 1913 at Tyliссos, a few miles west of Knossos. The preliminary report, in Greek, appeared in the *Épigraphic* of the Archaeological Society for 1912 (pp. 197-233), and a French translation under the title *Tyliссos à l'époque minoenne* was published in 1921. These older publications must still be referred to for illustrations of many of the more important finds from this rich site—the wall-frescoes, the inscribed tablets, the big bronze adorning, etc.; on the other hand, the new book contains valuable fresh material. The plan of one of the two villas previously published receives important additions and a third villa, lying to the northward, is now added: the architectural features are described in more detail and remains of the late Minoan and Hellenic periods are distinguished.

The French translation is by MM. Chapouthier and Joly. They follow faithfully the text as it was left by the author in 1925, with some sections unfinished and some obvious omissions, the most important being the map of the third and latest Minoan period. In the Introduction they compare the results obtained from Tyliссos with those from their own excavation at Mallia. Tyliссos indeed differs from Mallia in that occupation lingered on till classical times—remains of an altar and precinct were encountered; but otherwise the story is the same, commencing in EM iii or MM i times with a second occupation in the MM iii period, and a gap where MM ii should come. In their future publications they will have to reckon with Åberg's argument (see this *Journal*, 1934, 80) that the gap is non-existent and that MM ii is not a historic period, but a phase of the palatial culture.

**Dans le sillage d'Ulysse: album odysseén.**

By V. BÉRARD. Pp. 9; 163 plates and map. Paris: Armand Colin, 1933. 140 fr.

The theory which prompted the composition of this work is too well known to need detailed exposition here. 'L'Odysée n'est pas un simple assemblage de contes: c'est un document géographique, la peinture poétique, mais non déformée, d'une certaine Méditerranée. . . . Réciproquement, cette Méditerranée, une fois explorée, nous explique l'ensemble et le détail des aventures odysseennes.' In preparation for a second edition of *Phéniciens et l'Odysée*, Bérard in 1912 retraced in the company of M. Boissonas,



to whom are due the admirable photographs now published, the path he had outlined for Ulysses from Troy to Gibraltar and back to Ithaca. Delays intervened to prevent the completion of the edition, and the series of Mediterranean views is now published alone in memory of a scholar who loved Homer well. Opinions may differ on Bérard's theories, but none will deny the charm of these delightful views of Mediterranean scenery.

**Délos. XV: Les vases préhelléniques et géométriques.** By CHARLES DUGAS and CONSTANTIN RHOMAÏOS. Pp. 119; 56 plates and 7 text-figures. Paris: de Boccard, 1934.

In this fascicule is published not only the prehistoric and geometric pottery from Delos, but also the first instalment of the Rheneia find, aptly termed by Rumpf 'the great unknown.' The contents of the graves which were removed from Delos to Rheneia in 425 B.C., were discovered 35 years ago by Stavropoulos. Ever since, with the exception of a few outstanding vases which have been published separately, this vast collection of pottery has remained accessible only to those who could visit the Mykonos museum. The geometric vases are contained in this volume. The remainder is to appear shortly in succeeding fascicules of the Delos publication.

The authors are to be congratulated on the excellent method which they have followed in producing their material. That the classification of Cycladic pottery is no easy task is shown by the widely differing conclusions arrived at by different archaeologists, and indeed by individual archaeologists at different times. Messrs. Dugas and Rhomaïos have got over this difficulty by arranging the vases in clearly defined groups, identified by algebraical symbols. Only the most obvious criteria of technique, shape and style are used in their classification—a method which leaves little room for personal opinions to affect the issue. There are two main groups: A, vases with no slip or only a thin wash; B, vases with a thicker slip. It was a good plan to deal with the skyphoi and plates of group A in separate sections. Imports are confined to Attic, Rhodian, Cretan and Cypriot, and an unidentified class of Eastern character.

Each section is preceded by a discussion by one or other of the authors. Professor Dugas seems to have a new theory of the inter-relationship of Cycladic pottery, but he reserves it for a later instalment. Professor Rhomaïos on the

other hand does not hesitate to propound his views. They are rather startling. All group A and all group B he considers to be the product of two islands, Paros and Naxos. To A he also assigns the 'Melian' vases; owing to their connexion with Ad (a class of vases for which Buschor would provide an asylum in Siphnos.) Presumably A includes the early orientalisising 'Parian' vases from Thera. The potters of Paros and Naxos must have been astonishingly versatile.

Group B, which contains considerably fewer vases than A, corresponds roughly to Buschor's Naxian. Since the thickness of the slip is the chief distinction between the two groups, it is not surprising to find one or two obviously 'Parian' vases included here. The character of the slip on the 'Parian' vases in Thera is not at all constant.

It is not possible in this review to enter into a detailed examination of the material. Generally speaking the different classes stand out fairly clearly, though the relationship of one class to another and to other geometric styles must be the subject of further study. It seems to me possible to trace the development of the 'Parian' style from the protogeometric period through early and developed geometric to the early orientalisising vases which have been found principally in Thera. The position of the other groups will be clearer when the remaining vases of the Mykonos museum have been published. For instance, the 'Siphnian' vases Ad are really out of place here, for, in spite of their backward appearance, they belong to the early orientalisising period. To this stage also belongs the oenochoe Bb 20, which is clearly from the same workshop as the early orientalisising amphorae considered by Payne to be proto-Melian (cf. *Thera II*, p. 212; another published by Kunze in *Kretische Bronze-reliefs*). The other vases of this section may well be forerunners.

Little attention is paid by the authors to the connexion of Cycladic pottery with Crete and Corinth, although Attic influence is often emphasised. It is a curious fact that nearly all the Atticising vases of both groups, as well as the Attic imports, come from Delos.

A number of the attributions are in my opinion incorrect. A few are perhaps worth noting here:

Pl. II, A 15. Professor Dugas calls this Mycenaean. It looks to me an imitation of Protocorinthian (cf. Bb 31).

Attic No. 18. From an amphora of Pfuhl's class N. (*AM*, 1903).

Cretan No. 17. Probably Parian. The head



of the bird *Thera* II fig. 402 is almost identical. The pecking birds on the back of an orientalising amphora in Mykonos are also close.

Pl. XLV, A 16. Surely Attic. Cf. the fragments from *Thera* (Pfuhl, *AM.* 1903, C 14) assigned to Crete.

Pl. LI, B 13. This looks rather strange here. The shape is not given, but it appears to be sixth century E. Greek.

The photographs, by Herr Wagner of the German archaeological institute at Athens, are excellent. The reproduction is up to the usual high standard of the Delos publication. The system of numbering the vases on the plates without their group letters is somewhat confusing; occasionally the letters are given. Vases belonging to different sections and bearing the same number sometimes occur on the same plate.

A word of praise is due to M. George Polycandriotis, who was responsible for the formidable task of mending and restoring these vases.

J. K. B.

**Fouilles de Delphes. II: Topographie et Architecture: le Trésor des Athéniens.**

By J. AUDIAT. Pp. 109; 79 figures in the text, with 26 drawings by J. REPLAT, and 17 plates. Portfolio of 27 drawings by P. E. HOFF and M. L. STEPHENSEN. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1933.

Colin published the inscriptions of the Treasury of the Athenians in 1909; an album of the sculptures appeared earlier, in 1905; the accompanying text has not yet seen the light, but two papers by Coste-Messelière, in the *BCH.* of 1923 and 1928, largely supply our needs. We now have the architectural story in great detail, and are taken stone by stone over the little building as it was re-erected between 1903 and 1906 by the architect Replat, to whom the fascicule is dedicated. Echoes of ancient controversies with Pomtow resound everywhere; on most charges Replat is triumphantly acquitted but it is true that he did not incorporate into his restoration all the extant antique material; there are, in fact, more of these unused blocks than even Pomtow supposed.

Some further details are recorded of the older Treasury on the site, but no conclusion as to its date is thought to be attainable. With regard to the existing Treasury, M. Audiat strongly inclines to accept the statement of Pausanias that it is a memorial of Marathon, and argues at length against the view of Pomtow and Dinsmoor that it is of earlier date. An appendix contains the catalogue of the unused stones. The plans

and sections in the portfolio are the work of two Danish students; Replat's plans of the building course by course in the process of reconstruction are reproduced at the end of the text, where are also excellent photographs.

**Altsamische Standbilder. I.** By ERNST BUSCHOR.

Pp. 23; 71 figures in 40 plates. Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1934.

There is so much material from Samos that a single book does not complete the account of the archaic kouroi found at the Heraion and other sites. Many marble examples, it is true, are represented by fragments only: limbs, torsos, hair, but no faces. None the less they give a cumulative impression of the Samian school of art in the sixth century, nor need we pause to examine their claim to be local, since it is supported by their provenance, their numbers, their resemblance to each other and the stone of which they are made. Their evidence on the question of style is defective owing to the absence of complete heads and complete figures, but it is supplemented by that of a number of bronze statuettes, distinguished little men with a strong family likeness when seen in profile.

It is obvious that their publication is an event of the greatest importance. Study and comparison are made easy by Wagner's flawless and beautifully reproduced photographs, while Professor Buschor's text contains an invaluable discussion on the sequence and development of the series. To place in their right order and to date so many fragments is a task which could only be adequately performed by one of the greatest authorities on Greek art, and the comparatively late dates assigned to some of them should occasion surprise rather than doubt. But is the treatment, which is in the form of an essay or lecture, really suitable to the subject? It is the fashion with German editors and may be the result of an attempt to conciliate two irreconcilable types of reader, archaeologists and others. The archaeologists require less poetic and more detailed descriptions: here, for instance, a longer account of the bronze statuettes, and an arrangement which isolates the items for easy reference. The non-archaeological public, on its side, will scarcely be concerned with a book on so technical a subject.

Whilst awaiting the appearance of the next volume and the publication of other types of figure, we must adapt our preconceived notions of Samian art to the new material. Which of the figures hitherto attributed to Samos can pass the test of comparison with those in this book? The youth from Marion in the British Museum



is one of the most likely candidates. We must also reconsider the relation of Samos to other art centres. It is disappointing that Professor Buschor has not yet given his invaluable opinion on either of these matters, for it would be more useful to us now than if deferred till later.

A warning should be given to those who use the list of correspondences between plates and text that each reference is two pages behind; in other words, 9 should read 11, 12 should read 13 and so on, an unimportant defect resulting from some last-minute change of paging. W. L.

**Die Komposition der archaischen und frühklassischen griechischen Metopenbilder.**

By JULIUS FRÖMME. Pp. 90; 42 figures. Würzburg: Konrad Triltsch, 1934. 3.60 m.

The object of the author is to trace the development of metope composition. He illustrates his book with line-drawn cuts. Among these are a number of interesting drawings in which the field of the metope is divided by verticals and horizontals and the composition represented by a simplified scheme. It is perhaps a pity that he does not use the same convention always but works sometimes in white on black, sometimes in black on white. In a good many cases he has had to restore, and some of his restorations are doubtful, although he always proves their possibility by parallels on vases. The metopes belong to the temples at Mycenae, Assos, Thermos and Selinus (all temples), the Sicyonian treasury, the Athenian treasury, and the temple of Zeus at Olympia. In general the development can be closely paralleled in Greek vase painting: the early metope is dominated by horizontals and verticals which in time give way to diagonals and curves. The Athenian treasury marks a new stage in the development, and the artist is here absolutely free and takes no account of the frame. The clear linear construction of the Olympian metopes is a return to the archaic method of composition. There are some criticisms of detail which might be made: the temple at Assos is dated to the seventh century, which seems impossible in view of the style of the sculptures: the quiver and cloak of the Herakles and hind on the Athenian treasury are more than mere filling, they are compositionally necessary; it is scarcely true to say that the Cerberus and Augias metopes at Olympia have the same composition, for whereas in the Augias metope there is a movement to the left, in the Cerberus metope the leftward movement is balanced by the glance of Herakles, the caduceus of Hermes, the tug back of Cerberus, essential elements of the

composition but hard to represent (unless by arrows) in a schematic drawing. But on the whole this is a useful little book and it is to be hoped that Dr. Fröber will follow it, as he promises, with a study of classical and hellenistic metopes.

T. B. L. W.

**Die Tondächer der Akropolis. II: Stirnziegel.** By ERNST BUSCHOR. Pp. 80; 10 plates and 95 figures. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1933.

The first volume deals with *simae*; this with rain tiles, antefix tiles, and ridge tiles. It is beautifully produced with photographs, line drawings and coloured reconstructions (the only possible criticism is that the clay is made too yellow in the coloured plates). The photographs particularly are admirable and on some the preliminary sketch for the ornament can be clearly seen. There is a full descriptive catalogue of the various types of tile; the series runs from the seventh to the fourth century B.C. Parallels are quoted from other architectural terracottas, but few from vases (this might well be a profitable inquiry). At the end Prof. Buschor sums up his evidence, and decides that there are fragments of at least forty roofs, of which six belong to the seventh or early sixth century, four to the rest of the sixth, three to the first two decades of the fifth, eight to the first half of the fifth, eight to its second half: the rest are later. Of some roofs fragments of the *simae*, rain tiles, antefix tiles and roof tiles are preserved. He then considers the possible distribution of these roofs over the buildings known to have existed in Athens. He uses the evidence of the tiles to support an interesting theory of the 'Old Athena Temple' (the hekatompedon); the marble-tiled building with the Triton pediment was preceded by an earlier building with terracotta tiles; after the Persian wars the ruin was rebuilt with again a terracotta roof (roof 16); a large number of the tiles of this roof were repainted and used again after the fire of 406 B.C. (roof 29); as the old tiles were used, probably only part of the temple was then rebuilt, the opisthodomos, which was burnt again later (Demosthenes, XXIV, 126).

T. B. L. W.

**Excavations at Olynthus. V: Mosaics, Vases, and Lamps.** By D. M. ROBINSON. Pp. xxi + 297; pls. 209; 18 text-figures. Baltimore: the Johns Hopkins Press; London: Humphrey Milford, 1933.

The most sensational discovery made by the American excavators at Olynthus is the series



of pebble-mosaics, which, if Prof. Robinson's dating is correct, are the earliest and completest examples of this genre so far unearthed. Other contemporary specimens of this technique at Motya, Dyrhachium and Olympia show that the Olynthus pavements are not unique; but Prof. Robinson gives reasons for thinking that the latter may be somewhat earlier, and they are certainly far more extensive and better preserved. They are also of special interest in that they use not only black and white, but also green, red, yellow, pink and purple pebbles. The design is always in a lighter colour on a darker ground, as in contemporary vase-painting and in those fragments of textiles found in Greek graves in South Russia. This resemblance between mosaics, vase-paintings and stuffs, which applies as much to the character of the design and the detail of the ornament, suggests that all three have a common origin; and this may be looked for in textile art. The dependence of pottery-ornamentation on woven patterns is well known at other periods of Greek art; and the connexion between a mosaic and a floor-cloth, or carpet, is obvious.

The Bellerophon mosaic consists of an ornamental border with a central roundel containing the mythological motif famous from the coinage of Corinth; Prof. Robinson suggests that this Corinthian influence may have been brought to Olynthus by refugees from Potidaea, that city having been destroyed by the Athenians in 432 B.C. The character of the palmettes in the spandrels suggests a dating c. 400; and there is nothing in the mosaics that makes it impossible to date any of them before the sack of the city by Philip in 348. The design of the Bellerophon group may be compared with the Dexileos stele and the altar from the Academy (*Jdl. Az.* xlv, 1931, cols. 218 ff., figs. 1-3). The resemblance of the Nereid mosaic to the picture on the vase no. 131 (pls. 78/9) suggests a dating in the last decade of the fifth century. The combined evidence justifies Prof. Robinson's attribution of the whole group to the years on either side of 400.

Turning to the pottery, we find in the first place a chapter by Mylonas on the pre-Persian fabrics, local wares of earlier date than the storm and sack by Artabazus in 479 B.C., the trace of which the excavators recognised in a thick burnt layer covering the site. This early pottery is unstratified and affords no chronological evidence, but it adds to our knowledge of the early Iron Age ware of Macedonia. There is also a local fabric of painted pottery with floral patterns, based apparently on late Ionian models; a similarity to late Mycenaean

is noted, but this is a feature common to much bad painted pottery in Greece. One of these local vases (P. 69) achieves a measure of distinction, but it is hard to see why the common-place Cypriote stamnos (P. 52) should receive the honour of a coloured plate. With these vases was found 'comparatively little imported ware'—Corinthian and Attic black-figure. There is only one bf. piece of importance, the Heracles and Busiris vase no. 23; most of the other fragments are late and degraded. Many might be later than 479 B.C., but we are not told where they occurred in relation to the burnt layer; the Catalogue runs continuously down to the fourth-century Panathenaic amphoras, nos. 97-100 (may not the bf. fish-plate no. 64 be also fourth century?).

The red-figured material is more abundant; Robinson's view that some vases are of local clay is interesting, though judged by the photographs they look Attic through and through. The fifth century is scantily represented (but among the stamped pottery, pls. 152 ff., more seems of the fifth century than Robinson allows). There are some half-dozen vases conspicuous for style or subject, the remainder are sad examples mainly of the 'Fat Boy' period. But the importance of this material lies not in the excellence of individual pieces but in the broad chronological conclusions to be drawn from the mass, and here it is to be frankly admitted that in the whole there is not a single piece of Hellenistic date, scarcely anything of the developed Kertch style of mid-fourth century. Robinson's view that occupation of the site ceased abruptly in 348 B.C. seems confirmed by the pottery as clearly as by the coins (see this *Journal*, 1931, 303; 1934, 92).

Graham describes the lamps (these again are all of early types) and Xyngopoulos potsherds of the Byzantine period. Altogether, a vast mass of material is here made conveniently accessible for study, and while some points of detail are open to criticism, Prof. Robinson has earned our gratitude by his prompt publication. Now that a *terminus ante quem* seems certain for the Olynthus finds, the volumes in this series will afford material for chronological analysis for years to come.

**Excavations at Olynthus. VII: the Terracottas found in 1931.** By D. M. Robinson. Pp. xii + 111; 3 colour-plates, 61 plates. Baltimore: the Johns Hopkins Press, 1933. 45s.

Volume IV of the Olynthus publication was dedicated to the terracottas discovered during



the campaign of 1928, over four hundred in number (see *JHS.* 1931, 302). During 1931 four hundred more came to light, and these are now published uniformly with the earlier finds. The site is rich in figurines, and Robinson distinguishes between imported specimens and native products, the latter predominating in number; it is interesting that he considers even the moulds which were found to be of local clay, and some types may also be indigenous; at any rate, no parallel to them is known elsewhere. Some useful evidence has been obtained as to the purpose to which the figurines were put; most come from private houses where the masks may have been apotropaic, the figurines purely decorative. Other specimens came to light in tombs, and Furtwängler's idea that figurines were not buried in the graves of adults is negated. Most important of all is the chronology. In the notice of the earlier volume Robinson's view that the site ceased to be occupied in 348 B.C. was viewed with scepticism; since then the publication of the coins and pottery has gone far to justify him, and it must be said that there is nothing in the present work which imperatively demands a later date. The value of the two volumes as providing a corpus of types with a definite limit of date can hardly be over-estimated. The figurines are said to be in good preservation with much of the original colouring; it is a pity that the plates are not clearer, the marks of 'cutting-out' are much too evident.

**Terracottas from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.** By DOROTHY BURR. Pp. v + 86; 42 plates, 11 figures in the text. Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen Nachfolger, 1934.

It was a happy thought to publish with complete illustrations the fine array of figurines from Myrina in Boston, which ranks with Paris, Istanbul, and Athens in boasting a representative series, whereas elsewhere only scattered specimens are to be found. The collection, which includes over a hundred numbers, nearly all choice pieces in excellent condition, and which has been formed mainly by the incorporation of various private collections, is reproduced on excellent plates of adequate scale; the text of the catalogue is brief and clear, and the introduction unpretentious and to the point; we commend Miss Burr's courage in assigning every piece to its chronological group.

**Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Louvre: Les textes inédits.** By ALPHONSE DAIN. (*Collection d'études anciennes publiées sous le patronage de l'Association G. Budé.*) Pp. 245. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1933. 60 fr.

Of the Greek inscriptions preserved in the Louvre, amounting to some 1400 apart from those incised or painted on pottery, a considerable number have remained, for one reason or another, unpublished. In the work before us M. Dain has undertaken, with the authorisation and assistance of M. Étienne Michon, Keeper of the Antiquities, to edit all these, and we cannot but be grateful to him for his attempt to render the epigraphical treasures of the Louvre accessible to all students in a volume of moderate compass and cost. Of the 281 texts here presented, the first 200 are arranged in geographical order (Greece, the North, Asia Minor, the East, Africa, Italy and Gaul, unknown provenances), while the remainder, under the general title *instrumentum domesticum*, are classified according to the objects (gems, glass vessels, lamps, weights, seals, etc.) on which they occur. The arrangement of the material is exemplary in its orderliness. Under each item three introductory paragraphs deal in detail with (a) the place of the inscribed object in the Museum, (b) its provenance and acquisition, and (c) its nature and size. Then follows the text, in facsimile or in 'epigraphical' type (the work contains no photographic illustrations), with transcription, textual notes (if required), translation and commentary. Few of the inscriptions are of any considerable length or interest, though Nos. 41 (which was, however, previously published in Michel's *Recueil*, 643), 56, 60 (to which are appended valuable notes by Haussonllier and Wilamowitz), 86, 171 and 181 form exceptions. The work ends with elaborate 'répertoires muséographiques' and an index of proper names.

The conception of the book is excellent; unfortunately, its execution leaves much to be desired. We need go no further than to the first inscription to have grave doubts awakened of the editor's competence and accuracy. In l. 1 the facsimile shows clearly 'Απιστορά[χ]η, the transcript gives 'Απιστορά[χ]η: in l. 3 we find 'Απιστορά in the facsimile, 'Απιστορά in the transcript, and the discrepancy is not noted in the textual apparatus. Of the comment 'Épithaphe d'une femme par son mari. Acharnes, dème de l'Attique,' the former part is mistaken, the latter unnecessary. Again, what can M. Dain mean when he says (p. 29) 'Noter l'impératif moyen τούτω, construit sur une forme inusitée τούτων'? In a brief notice like the



present it is not possible to go further into details, but it must be emphasised that those who use M. Dain's book should be careful to consult also the article (*RA.* ii (1933), 121-47) in which M. Louis Robert corrects many of its errors and omissions and points out that an appreciable number of these 'textes inédits' had previously appeared in well-known collections and periodicals.

**The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C.** By B. D. MERITT and A. B. WEST. (*University of Michigan Studies: Humanistic Series*, vol. xxxiii.). Pp. xiv + 112; 17 text-figures, 2 plates. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1934. \$2.50.

Professors Meritt and West have now given us in this handsome publication the fruits of their prolonged study of the *Τάξις Φόρου* (*IG.*<sup>2</sup> i. 63), of which we have had foretastes in West's *Two Assessments of the Athenian Empire* (*MetMusSt.* lii. 2, 1931) and in the text communicated to Mr. Tod for his *Greek Historical Inscriptions* (No. 66). Nevertheless it can be seen at once that the new edition of this document marks a noteworthy advance on either of these two publications. The stele as now reconstructed comprises 43 fragments, of which one (No. 21) is in New York, and two pieces once forming parts of Nos. 7 and 33 have been lost since they were first copied. (The authors have wisely abandoned the old alphabetic numeration of the fragments.) The far-reaching consequences of this reconstruction cannot be adequately discussed here, but a few indications will give some idea of their range.

The number of letters per line in the text of the decrees remains unaltered (ll. 3-60), but a close examination of the fracture-edges of the pieces forming the central strip of the stele (Nos. 2, 5, (6), 7, 8, 9), and of No. 3 containing part of the Secretary's name in l. 3, has convinced the authors that No. 3 must be moved two spaces to the right of the position hitherto assigned, and No. 2 and the others which join it, one space. This gives to the spacing of the heading *Τάξις Φόρου* in l. 2 the symmetry it hitherto lacked, but involves an entire re-casting of the opening lines. The preamble is now restored as follows: (βαρχον τε[ι] βολε[ι] καὶ τοῖς δήμοις, . . . νη[ί] ἐπε[ν]τάνα, . . . ἅν[ο]ν ἔγρα[μ]μάτε[υ]ς, . . . ἐπε[ν]τάνα, θεοῖ[ς] πρὸς εἰρη[ν]ήν πέμψαι κέρκε[α]ς [ἐκ τῶν] βολεν[τ]ῶν, κ.τ.λ.), whereas in *IG.*<sup>2</sup> i. 63 it reads [- - Αλγίη] ἐπε[ν]τάνα, . . . ἅν[ο]ν ἔγρα[μ]μάτε[υ]ς, . . . ἐπε[ν]τάνα, θεοῖ[ς] πρὸς εἰρη[ν]ήν πέμψαι τάδε[υ]ς ὁ[κ]ινὸν [ἀνδρῶν, κ.τ.λ.]. We thus get the much more probable enactment that heralds be sent to

summon the allies to send representatives if they wished to appeal against their assessments, instead of sending the *Taktai* themselves, but we meet with a fresh difficulty, namely that a tribe seven letters long appears as holding the Prytany in l. 3, but one of six letters in l. 34, and in ll. 34-5, where *A[ἰ]γίη* is the certain reading in the preamble to the supplementary decree. After a searching discussion of the issues raised by this inconsistency, the authors conclude that the debate on these proposals lasted over from one Prytany (*Oineis*, l. 34) to the next (. . . *ntis*, l. 3), and that this tribe was followed by *Aigeis* (ll. 34-5); and that these held respectively the second, third and fourth Prytanies of the year. A reason for the delay in ratification of the proposals is ascribed to the unexpectedly late return of the expedition mentioned in l. 34 (where the text is restored as *ἐπε[ν]τάνα ἡν[ο]ν ἐπε[ν]τάνα*), but this requires that it cannot after all be identified with the expedition of Demosthenes to the Peloponnese recorded in *IG.* i. 324, ll. 18-19, for which a payment was made on Prytany IV. 3 (*Aigeis*). No alternative solution seems tenable. Various other restorations are made possible by the placing of hitherto unlocated fragments, e.g. in ll. 37-43 by the discovery that fragment No. 18 (*IG.* i. *Suppl.* 555f, which is omitted altogether from *IG.*<sup>2</sup> i.) joins Nos. 7 + 9 on the left, and that No. 4 (= *IG.* i. 37d, ascribed by Hiller to i.<sup>3</sup> 65, *velis incertae*) can be convincingly fitted in to ll. 15-22, to the right of No. 1.

The arrangement of the list of tributary states displays in at least equal measure the acumen of the editors. They have restored to it the five important fragments *l*, *u*, *v*, *w*, *w'* transferred to i.<sup>3</sup> 64 by Hiller (following Bannier) and place all in col. I, except *w* (= No. 36), which comes in col. II, and proves to make a join above with *x* (= No. 35) and, by an unquestionable fracture-indication, connects below with *z'''* (= No. 37); the latter contains remains of names of Thracian cities which come in col. III., and so the large sums preserved on the right of No. 36 represent the payments due from the chief cities of that region. A further conclusion derived from this is that all the fragments on which *T* is written with a short *hasta* (rejected at first on this account by West, *MetMusSt. Lc.*) belong to this stele after all, and thus No. 34, with the total (250 T. +) of the Hellenistic tribute, followed by the rubric *Ἀκρεῖ[α] πόλε[ω]ς* falls into place in col. III. above the group already located. A new fragment (No. 38, identified first by the reviewer) giving yet another total, which must be that of the Thracian tribute, falls into col. IV and contains also the beginning of the list of



Euxine states ([Πόλεις] ἐν τῷ Εὐ[χεΐνῳ]), Heraklea and Apollonia, but not the amount of their tribute. Another important discovery is that fragment 25 (= 1) does not contain an elaborate rubric as hitherto believed, but apparently five lines of place-names followed by τάλαντα [α]λυσ[α]ς ho] φόρος ἐπὶ ἑκάστη; in l. 5, instead of [ἐμ]πορεύ the name 'Ὀρεσι[τ]ρα] is to be restored. Finally, the notion that l.<sup>2</sup> 64 might be a copy of the list of tributary states in l.<sup>2</sup> 63 is finally disproved (pp. 84 ff.).

As to the number of states contained in this list: the authors propose a reconstruction with 120 lines to each of the four columns, but an element of uncertainty arises from the occurrence of vacant spaces after some of the sections, and allowance must also be made for headings and totals, with the result that the actual number of states seems to have approximated to 400. For the total sum to be restored in the last line of the stele, the authors make out an overwhelmingly strong case for the restoration [ X H H H H H H H H H — ; their suggested figure is 1468 T., odd, in place of the 960 + T. which most scholars (with the noteworthy exception of Kolbe) have regarded as practically certain. This is arrived at after the most careful calculation from the details preserved either in individual payments or totals: the individual totals for the different regions may be shown in tabular form, as follows:

1. Islands. 163 Talents: (details preserved amount to 156 T. +).
2. Ionian-Carian States. 450 Talents: (details preserved amount to 40 T. +).
3. Hellespontine States. 290 Talents: (total preserved = 250 T. +).
4. 'Aktaian' States. 50 Talents: (details preserved amount to 35 T. +).
5. Thracian States. 340 Talents: (details preserved amount to 218 T. +; total preserved = 310 T. +).
6. Euxine States. 175 Talents: (details preserved amount to 31 T.).

It will be seen that the absolute *minima* for 1, 3 and 5 amount to (163 + 250 + 310 =) 723 Talents altogether, which out of an assumed grand total of 999 T. (to take the highest possible figure on the old view) would leave for the rest only a *maximum* of 276 T. (and a *minimum* of 149 T. if 1, 3 and 5 are raised to their maximum of 811 T. and the minimum sum of 960 T. substituted for the grand total). Within these limits it would be impossible to insert the combined totals for 2, 4 and 6, unless the Ionian-Carian assessments were reduced substantially, instead of being more than doubled as were the

three other main groups. No further comment is needed.

It only remains to add that this material is presented with all the accuracy of detail and cautious handling of evidence which we have come to expect from the authors, and that their photographs, facsimiles, tables and indexes give all possible aid to the reader. Failing the almost impossible accident of new fragments being discovered, this will surely remain the standard edition of this important document, and a landmark in epigraphical studies.

A. M. W.

**A Biography of the Greek People.** By C. F. LAVELL. Pp. 297. London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1934. 8s. 6d.

The object of this book is to explain briefly to the non-classical student the distinctive features of Greek civilisation. It is hardly a biography, except in the Plutarchian sense, for it gives no continuous account of Greek history, but merely provides a skeleton account of its most famous episodes. In this selective treatment Prof. Lavell has shewn good judgment. He awards no more than a passing mention to the squabbles of the city states, yet he gives a fair idea of the general atmosphere of city-state politics. On the other hand, the cross-sections which he takes through the Greek world are not sufficiently broad. He writes at some length and with real discernment about Greek literature and philosophy; on other aspects of Greek life he is unduly reticent. Though he has plenty of excuse for not immersing himself in Greek economics, he might usefully have given more attention to slavery and to family life, and have laid more stress on the important fact that the Greeks were the greatest colonising people of the ancient world. Prof. Lavell does a great deal less than justice to Greek science; he sets forth the 'philosophy' of Greek art, but does not help the eye to appreciate it. So far as it goes, this book is a thoughtful and helpful introduction to Greek studies, for it brings out clearly the salient qualities of Hellenic thought, but it does not sufficiently emphasise the unique versatility of the ancient Greeks or their many-sided success as practitioners of life.

M. C.

**Aspects of Athenian Democracy.** By R. J. BONNER. (*Sather Classical Lectures*, Vol. XI). Pp. 199. University of California and Cambridge University Press, 1933. 10s.

The aspects of which this volume treats are: the Judiciary; the Politicians; Freedom of Speech; Citizenship; Literature; Religion;



Imperialism. Under these headings it covers all the main sides of political life at Athens, with the exception of financial administration. Of these subjects it gives a clear and straightforward account; though it does not strive after originality, it often takes an independent line on the development of Athenian jurisdiction, and it departs from the accepted view in dating back the ephoric training to the fifth century.

Writing on a subject on which feeling even now is apt to run high, Prof. Bonner maintains throughout a sober judicial attitude. His book is not pitched in the key of the Funeral Speech and does not explain how Athenians could 'fall in love with Athens'; but it underlines the regretful conclusion of the 'Old Oligarch' (*sine* pseudo-Xenophon) that the Athenians understood their business. The general impression left by his analysis of Athenian institutions is that of a people who knew what they wanted, embodied their wants in a comprehensive code of laws, and created efficient machinery for making their laws operative.

Two or three small corrections.—The statement that 'only the homicide laws of Draco have survived' (p. 29) rather obscures the fact that even of these we possess nothing but a small fragment. The estimate that the Athenian citizen-body never exceeded 25,000-30,000 (p. 108) seems unduly low. According to Mr. Gomme's careful calculations the first three property-classes alone numbered 25,000. If the *floruit* of Theseus was *B.C.* 534 (p. 117), the anecdote of his verbal encounter with Solon (*floruit* 594) must be apocryphal. M. C.

**Marathon and Salamis.** By COMPTON MACKENZIE. Pp. 169; 4 illustrations, 2 maps. London: P. Davies, 1934. 5s.

A straightforward piece of narrative, pleasantly written, but containing no important new points of view. Mr. Mackenzie is aware of the imperfections in the story of Herodotus, which he occasionally corrects in the light of the criticisms by Grundy and Munro. But in writing this book he hardly goes beyond Herodotus' object of keeping alive the *κλέα ἀνδρῶν*.

**Thukydides im Lichte der Urkunden.** By WALTHER KOLBE. Pp. iv + 104. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1930. 5 m.

That this notice appears nearly five years after the publication of Professor Kolbe's book is due to circumstances outside the reviewer's control, but it would be an ambiguous compliment to the author to dismiss it briefly on the grounds that those for whom it was written have

all made its acquaintance in the meantime. On the other hand, whilst it would be unreasonable to criticise it at length in the light of subsequent discoveries, some reference to the literature dealing with them may prove to be helpful. Professor Kolbe does not attempt in these pages to treat comprehensively the topic indicated by his title—a task which would prove vastly larger than when Kirchhoff undertook it in 1895—but devotes the first half of his work to a full discussion of 'Thucydides' account of the events immediately preceding the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, and reprints three recently published articles to form the second half. The new contribution deserves particular attention, for it successfully vindicates the narrative of Thucydides alike as regards its accuracy and its freedom from obscurity or contamination. It is primarily a defence of the text against Jacoby's endeavour (in *Götting. Nachrichten*, 1928) to revive Lipsius' old conjecture *μηδὲ κερῶ* [καὶ δαῖτα] in ii. 2, 1 for the length of the interval between the first engagement at Potidaea and the Theban attempt on Plataea, with the effect of dating the Potidaean revolt to 433 B.C. Not only are the apparent inconsistencies in Th.'s indicated dates (i. 56, 1; i. 57, 1; i. 125, 2) shewn to be illusory, but the confident assertion of Schwartz that i. 56, 2 and i. 57, 6 are duplicate versions of the ultimatum to Potidaea, and therefore proofs that Th. has been 'edited' in one or other passage, is refuted by a convincing demonstration that these passages refer to two separate events between which several months elapsed. Having thus upheld Th.'s version, incidentally reminding us that much of the uncertainty felt by his critics arose from ignoring the fact that the division into summers and winters is not employed before the outbreak of the war, Professor Kolbe then turns to the inscriptions, and points out firstly that Potidaea paid its tribute for 433/2 (*IG.*<sup>2</sup> i. 212, of which the date is beyond doubt), and secondly that in *IG.*<sup>2</sup> i. 296 the payments to the Athenian troops in Macedonia must have begun in the second Prytany of 432/1, and that the second payment must be restored as [ἐ; Μασσηνῶν καὶ Περσῶν], as must also the third, fourth and fifth on the same stele. On pp. 45-48 he prints a restored text, differing slightly from that in *IG.*<sup>2</sup> i, but his conjecture in ll. 2-3 ἐπὶ τῇ βοῇ; ἡ; Διδύμω[ς] Ἑγγ(λ)[ουσι] . . . ἐπὶ τῇ ἑρμῇ; gives as patronymic an unlikely, if not impossible, name and a demotic of only four letters' length which cannot stand unless an error of engraving is postulated. Meritt, *AED.* p. 73, has subsequently healed this



passage by omitting  $\kappa\epsilon\lambda$   $\theta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\sigma\epsilon\lambda$  and inserting  $\tau\epsilon\sigma\epsilon$  in l. 2, and by deciphering letters which can only be restored as [στ(ι . . . . . Δ)]  $\theta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\sigma\epsilon\lambda$  ( $\kappa\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$   $\theta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\sigma\epsilon\lambda$ ). On the whole, this chapter is a model of sound and balanced reasoning. In II, which is reprinted from *SBBerl.* 1927, the author argues effectively for dating the Kallias-decree(s) to 434, which date has by now been universally accepted. In III, which forms a sequel to II, and is reprinted from *SBBerl.* 1929, the attempt is made to trace the growth of, and to establish a balance-sheet for, the 'Atheneschatz' down to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, with the result that the peak-figure is reached in about 450, when it approximated to Thucydides' 9700 talents. It is argued that expenditure from this source exceeded receipts in the period 450-450 by a sum reckoned at 2650 ÷ x talents, which is interpreted as = 3650. In so controversial a matter, where so many of the data can only be arbitrarily fixed, this conclusion may well evoke differences of opinion. To one line of argument here employed attention will be drawn later. In IV, which is reprinted from *ClPh.* 1930, 105 ff., Professor Kolbe discusses the date of the renewal of the Athenian-Argive alliance (*IG.* <sup>2</sup> i. 96), and decides that though mooted in 417 (*Thuc.* v. 82) it was not formally effected until 416, and was immediately followed by Alcibiades' expedition to the Argolid. This conclusion seems incontestable, and has subsequently been accepted, and reinforced with fresh arguments, to the rejection of some of K.'s, by Meritt (*The Spartan Gymnopaedia*, *ClPh.* 1931).

These four articles, in fact, provide merely isolated examples of the use of inscriptions for the interpretation of Thucydides, and vice versa; and on closer scrutiny I and IV prove to be more effective than the other two, since II and III are not confined closely to an interpretation of the relevant passage of the historian (ii. 13); II indeed can hold its own independently of the text of Th., but III brings it a frail, or rather a too elastic, support. In conclusion, a word on Professor Kofoe's methods of controversy. Nothing could be better put than his plea for the interdependence of the literary sources and the inscriptions, but it must be admitted that his practice does not always accord with his principles. On one occasion a literary source is treated with the deference accorded to Thucydides, namely, the statement of Heliodorus preserved by Harpocration that the Propylaea cost 2012 talents; and to support it the scanty fragments of the building-record

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for that monument undergo some quite unsupported restorations, whilst no real discussion is provided of the difficulties and improbabilities involved by its acceptance, e.g., a daily wage-bill, for material and salaries, of over one talent for five years! The conclusion that the Parthenon, including its sculptures, cost some 600 talents *less* than the Propylaea, in order not to obtain an impossibly high figure for the cost of the Periclean buildings, seems absolutely unwarranted. Another case of misuse of a literary source is seen in a familiar passage of the *Ath. Pol.*, where c. 43 is misquoted as saying that in the fourth century the first Ecclesia in each Prytany was *ωπειά*; but Aristotle says *πρωτὴ ὥπειά*; and in reply to the argument that since 11 Hekatombaion is the day of the *βοῶν*, *ωπειά* in the first Prytany during the fourth century, it is 'kaum glaublich' that the practice was different in the fifth century, Meritt has since pointed out that it was different, and why (*CIPh. I.c.*). Another instance of fallacious usage of epigraphical evidence can be seen in the discussion of the date of the decrees of Kallias, where, in reply to the objections to the early date based on the inconsistent forms of the dative plurals in *-ων* and *-ων*, and the use of *αὐτῶν* for *χρονῶν*, the second declension datives in the Parthenon building-record, which use both *-ων* and *-ων* between 437/6 and 433/2 are cited in proof of the first declension (*scr.* (Wade-Gery has since dealt with this point, *JHS* 1931, p. 79.) Professor Kolbe, in fact, seems at times so anxious to demolish his opponent's position that, if the metaphor is permissible, he opens fire with all available artillery, even though his guns are not always exactly ranged nor his fuses carefully set, and some of his shells are really duds. The position is in the end demolished, with a lavish expenditure of ammunition, but some of his guns have been knocked out in the process. Readers who can discriminate between the direct hits and the less effective shots will learn much from Professor Kolbe, but they must not let themselves be deflected by the intensity of his attack.

A. N. W.

Alexander the Great. By F. A. WRIGHT.

Pp. xiv + 266; 8 illustrations and a map.

London: Routledge, 1934. 10s. 6d.

This is a popular work, expressed to be written for the general reader, and not a contribution to knowledge; as such, it hardly falls to be reviewed in this *Journal*. The main outline, except the fantastic 'Arbela,' is pretty sound and occasionally good, and there are some picturesque

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descriptions; but the repetition of the old worthless stories and the numerous mistakes of fact have given one reader a feeling of unreality. The general summary is so much the best chapter that it seems a pity that stories were not cut and the space used for more serious matters. There are some attractive illustrations. W. W. T.

**Everyday Life in Ancient Greece.** By C. E. ROBINSON. Pp. 139. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933. 3s. 6d.

This is a lucid and vigorous sketch of Greek life, necessarily compressed, but neglecting no important aspect of the subject; it will be found interesting and useful by others besides the young students for whom it is primarily intended. The book has many excellent illustrations, including some lively vase-paintings, and several helpful maps and plans; translations from Greek writers are used freely, the Homeric quotations being given in an unorthodox and curiously attractive irregular metre, while there are some neat renderings of epigrams. It is a pity that Mr. Robinson gives no references for these passages, and that he is not more informative about some of his illustrations, while a short bibliography for more advanced students might well have been added; by his own treatment of his subject he himself compels the inquiring mind, for which he writes, to ask for such guidance to further discovery.

R. G. A.

**Tausend Jahre altgriechischen Lebens.** By E. BETHE. Pp. 134; 32 plates. München: Bruckmann, 1933. 5.80 m.

In this exceedingly interesting book Bethe has pictured five widely different Greek civilisations—thirteenth-century Mycenae, seventh-century Sparta, sixth-century Miletus, Athens c. 430, and Alexandria c. 250. The result suggests a particularly well produced film, vivid, orderly, convincing. We find staged before us the delicate art of Crete, with its significant stressing of femininity, afterwards made to serve the more virile fancies of the Achaean kings; the indigenous vigour of Sparta, stirred to its depths by the novelty of poetry; Periclean Athens as mirrored in the Great Dionysia; Miletus, the pulse of a great colonial empire, a city of scientists and business men; Alexandria, the birthplace of *Wissenschaft*.

Bethe writes with sympathy and imagination, tinged at times with sentiment. Thus he compares fifth-century Athens with cities such as mediaeval Nürnberg, the position of the Greek ruling caste among the Egyptians at Alexandria

with that of the English in India, the commerce of Miletus with that of the Hanseatic League, and its spirit of scientific inquiry with that of the age which produced Columbus and Vasco da Gama. The book is not documented, and Bethe sometimes appears to build on but scanty evidence; he implies, for example, that polygamy was a general practice at Sparta. His whole picture of Sparta, in fact, mainly reconstructed as it is from the extant remains of Tyrtaeus and Aleman, shews how much the writer can read into his sources. But as an attempt to bring before our eyes the living civilisations of these Grecian states, the book is obviously and strikingly successful, and the richness of the colouring and the intensity of the impression owe not a little to the peculiarly polychromatic charm of Bethe's native tongue.

R. G. A.

**The humanistic value of Archaeology.** By RHYS CARPENTER. (*Martin Classical Lectures*, vol. iv.) Pp. 134. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1933. 6s. 6d.

Professor Carpenter's account of the relations of humanists and archaeologists seems somewhat pessimistic, at any rate so far as the English Universities are concerned: it may be that he conceives the normal archaeologist as a specialist of a narrower type than is commonly to be found on this side of the Atlantic. The humanist might complain in reply that Professor Carpenter does not appreciate what humanism wants: if we may take one question discussed by Professor Carpenter, it may be of interest for the archaeologist to argue whether the Hermes of Olympia was by Praxiteles or not, but the humanist is content to see a masterpiece of Greek genius, even if the master is anonymous: and, if it was not executed till Roman times, it is of the more value as showing that the old spirit had lost none of its force. But it is good for us to have friends who deal faithfully with us.

**England und die Antike.** (*Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, 1930/1931.) Pp. xii + 304, 30 plates. Leipzig. B. G. Teubner, 1932. 18 m.

A collection of ten essays, all interesting and informative, giving illustrations of the influence of Greece and Rome on the philosophy, literature, art, and life of England from the Middle Ages to the present day. In the earlier period the contribution of Greece is, naturally, rather at second hand, but even in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as Professor Jacob shows in the first of the essays, it can be definitely



traced, and the story is fitly closed by Sir Richard Livingstone's hopeful outlook on the position of Hellenism in the modern world.

**The Jealousy of the Gods and Criminal Law at Athens. II.** By SVEND RANULF. Pp. 161. Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard; and London: Williams and Norgate, 1933. 12s. 6d.

This is the second volume<sup>1</sup> of Dr. Ranulf's *Jealousy of the Gods* and carries his investigations to the end of the fifth century B.C. It is composed of lengthy analyses of Thucydides, Euripides, and Aristophanes and a brief treatment of the Sophists. As a result he claims to have shown that at the time of the Peloponnesian War the disposition to moral indignation had disappeared or at least become weakened among the Athenian aristocracy. This result is only reached by some questionable assumptions. The first is that the Athenian aristocracy had one view on these matters: Kritias and Plato were both aristocrats, it is certainly justifiable to talk of a line of aristocratic thought, but that is very different from talking of the Athenian aristocracy. The second assumption is that the Sophists' public were all aristocrats. The third is that Aristophanes, when he appeals to or condemns the promptings of moral indignation, is guided by no other consideration than what will best further the cause of the political party to which he belongs (the whole treatment of Aristophanes is vitiated by the failure to realise that he is writing comedy). The chapter on Euripides is marred by the constant polemic against Sophocles, whom Dr. Ranulf does not understand (nor is there evidence for a recantation in the late plays of Sophocles, as he now thinks), but the suggestion that Euripides intended 'the improbable prevention of all the impending calamities' by a *deus ex machina* as a proof that the gods are not as wicked as they appear to be is interesting. It may reasonably be doubted whether there are so many traces of the old belief of the jealousy of the gods in Thucydides as the author makes out. The problem is much more complex for Thucydides, Euripides and Aristophanes than for earlier authors, and it is necessary to start with an awareness of the medium in which the author is working and of his aesthetic aims. Dr. Ranulf does not seem to possess this.

T. B. L. W.

**Orphism.** By J. R. WHATMOUGH. (*Cromer Greek Prize, 1934*). Pp. vii + 80. Cambridge University Press, 1934. 3s. 6d.

Mr. Whatmough has two ideas, neither obviously wrong and both likely to be fruitful if he continues to examine them in the light of increasing knowledge and experience. One is, that Orphism is not a foreign movement but as good and characteristic Greek as any Olympian cult. The other is, that it bears a close analogy to Protestantism, and still has a message for the present day. In this little work, written in a single summer, he cannot be said to have done more than enunciate his propositions, for he has yet to acquire the arts of historical and textual criticism, to learn to weigh evidence and to distinguish Orphism from other mystery-religions, and even to discover where the best and latest information is to be had. Perhaps, in a few years' time, we shall have a reasoned setting forth of his case at adequate length.

H. J. R.

**A Handbook of Greek Literature.** By H. J. ROSE. Pp. ix + 454. London: Methuen, 1934. 21s.

This is an admirable compendium, useful not only to the learner but also to the learned. To compress the whole of Greek literature from Homer to Lucian into 400 pages is no insignificant feat, the more so as we are given no mere catalogue nor even a *catalogue raisonné*, such as the one which we are reminded that Kallimachos made of the royal library at Alexandria, but an eminently readable and informative history of Greek thought and culture. But it cannot in the nature of things be a complete picture; the most we can hope for, as the writer says, is to put together a sufficiently correct restoration of a mutilated torso for a sympathetic reader to form an idea, incomplete indeed but not in conflict with the facts, of what manner of things Greeks wrote and heard and read, and how they came to write in that manner and no other. This work, within the limits set, is done with conscientious care and a due sense of proportion, defects as well as the beauties of each writer being judiciously pointed out. Not the least successful feature of the treatment is the close analysis of each author's output, including a valuable summary of all that is known of the fragments of lost works, especially those of the dramatists. Particularly interesting is the opening section on Homer and Hesiod, and it is gratifying to find that Professor Rose can accept the unity of *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as being by the same author. Not less pleasing

<sup>1</sup> For the first see *JHS.* 1933, 327.



is it to see that he takes a favourable view of Sappho's character. Indeed a careful review of all the available evidence, which of course is not to be expected in such a manual, makes it impossible for us to believe that she was the abandoned creature which Ovid (or whoever wrote the *Epistle to Phaon*) and the later writers of Comedy seem to make her out to be. Professor Rose is also on the right side in refusing, with Lobel, to obelize such a poem as Sappho's 'Hector and Andromache.'

The mass of information and erudition, conveyed in a lively and pithy manner, can only be fully realised by close attention to the compressed pages of this handbook. There is scarcely a dull page, except perhaps where a mere enunciation of lost writings has to be made. Obiter dicta of outspoken character enliven the discussion of moot points, the 'doddering incompetence of Nikias' (by the way, has anyone noticed the parallel between him and our own General Elphinstone who sacrificed our army on the march home from Cabul through the Khyber Pass?); 'wild nonsense of a learned kind,' applied to some misguided comments on the Admetus and Alcestis episode in Euripides's drama; the refusal to consider the story of Atlantis, which has been taken so seriously by many, as anything but an imaginary Utopia; and the intrepid enunciation of the unpalatable sentiment that 'democracy is a dangerous delusion.'

One obiter dictum in Shakespeare we must utterly dissent from, viz., that *Pericles* is a pseudo-Shakespearian play. On the contrary, his share in it, the Marina episode, is pure Shakespeare, and inferior only to his best work. One or two happy expressions may be noticed: σπορχιον a 'teaser,' 'wood-wind-music,' ἄγχι δρομῶν, 'strung-together style.' The spelling of Greek names is consistent throughout in following the Greek orthography, except in the case of the most familiar writers, but as this book is intended for learners, could we not have had Kirké, Skillús, Archýtas, Arátus, Harpé? We do find διπλή as diplé. Again, Ópora for autumn is a trap in pronunciation for beginners. Why not ὀπώρα? Consistency in spelling is carried rather far when we have Secyon for Sicyon, for though this may have been the peculiar spelling of the townfolk themselves, Sicyon was good enough for the Greeks in general, and appears on the pedestal of the Delphic tripod set up after Plataea. Simonides for Simonides of Amorgus is not only correct but useful as distinguishing him from his greater namesake. Is it a new suggestion

for Horatian students that Horace, in crediting Archýtas with numbering the sands, was really thinking of Archimedes who claimed to be able to do this? To conclude: is this correct English (p. 402)? 'Polemon has left us speeches for both sides in this case, wherein, so far as brave men dying in a righteous cause can be made tedious and ridiculous, he contrives to do so.' Should not this be 'to make them so'?

The only misprints appear to be: 'passage' for 'passages' p. 114; Argonatic, p. 150; 'with' for 'were' p. 253; 481 for 381, p. 287 note, and 459 for 359, p. 290. C. R. H.

**Aristophanes in English Verse. II.** By A. S. WAY. Pp. 273. London: Macmillan, 1934. 10s. 6d.

When we realise that Dr. Way has already, previous to the present volume, translated the first volume of Aristophanes, the whole of Homer, the three Great Greek Tragedians, Pindar, Sappho, Vergil and Lucretius, we are ready to find that he has acquired an unusual mastery of the technicalities of translation, a command over the resources of our language at once extensive and peculiar, and a facility of expression that stands him in good stead with an author such as Aristophanes, whose style and phraseology differ so widely from those of the other and serious authors, whom Dr. Way has converted into English. Indeed Aristophanes taxes all the powers of a translator, who must be a humorist as well as linguist, not to say a bit of a genius too. Dr. Way shirks nothing. He manfully calls a spade a spade. He will not follow in the wake of Bowdler as Gilbert Murray in his version of the *Frogs* so lamentably does. In some respects he is distinctly inferior to Rogers, whose rhythms have more music and gallop in them. His manner is more that of Hookham Frere. But his colloquialisms and use of slang and technical terms are more audacious though sufficiently effective. He keeps pretty close to his text and suits his style to his author's. A short specimen from the *Frogs* will shew how he deals with difficult allusive expressions in the Greek. Charon on the banks of the Styx is shouting to Bacchus and Xanthias, who have just reached the river (l. 185):

τίς εἰς ἀνταπόδαν δε κερῶν καὶ πρᾶγματος;  
τίς εἰς τὸ Λήθης πῖλον, ἢ ἴς θεοῦ πῖλον,  
ἢ ἴς Κερβερίου, ἢ ἴς κόρακος, ἢ ἴτι Τελιόχορος;

Who's for the land of Rest-from-all-Distress?

Who's for the Haven of Forgetfulness?

Who's for Great-cry-and-little-wool-town, or  
For Cerberus' den?—the Vultures?—Hell-  
gate-shore?



As an example of the more lyric style, take *Thermophoriazusae*, 958 ff.:

Flout forward, O feet, while the chant rings  
sweet

To the Lord of the lyre of Gold,  
And the spotless Queen of the forest green  
And the bow like a star:—O Smiter from far,  
Thy victory banner unfold!

Ring out, ring out the jubilant shout

To the Queen of the bridal bower,

Who is here, where leapeth our dance, who  
keepeth

The keys unsealing the doors revealing

Love's mystery in Love's hour.

Apart from the *Frogs*, already noted, admittedly one of the best comedies written by Aristophanes, this volume contains the *Plutus*, the least effective and least characteristic of all his plays, and the three on the theme of women, of which the *Lysistrata* is the best and most readable, the *Thermophoriazusae* and *Ecclesiazusae* being more objectionable in their matter. Taking the book as a whole, we must decidedly congratulate the translator.

C. R. H.

**The Composition of Plato's Apology.** By R. HACKFORTH. Pp. ix + 175. Cambridge University Press, 1933. 7s. 6d.

The purpose of this book is to determine how far the *Apology* is a record of the actual speech of Socrates. Mr. Hackforth's view is that, while Plato took the actual speech as the basis of his work, he altered it in several important respects. Socrates' story of the Delphic oracle, his account of his public services, and other material passages—all these Mr. Hackforth regards as Platonic.

Most of his argument is based on supposed inconsistencies in the speech as we have it. The method is familiar, though now happily discredited, in Homeric criticism. Two passages are compared and found inconsistent; therefore one of them must be ascribed to the careless hand of a later poet. This argument proceeds on the assumption, which we are not entitled to make, that Homer was never inconsistent. But in the case of Plato the fallacy is even more objectionable, though Mr. Hackforth fails to see it. The original speech of Socrates was unprepared, while the later hand which Mr. Hackforth claims to have detected is that of a consummate artist, who, he argues, altered the original in order to improve it. That Plato might have made alterations in order to remove inconsistencies is credible; that in making improvements he introduced them is not. And the truth is that the speech is not inconsistent.

Why, Mr. Hackforth asks, does Socrates speak of his examination of the seeming-wise as obedience to an oracle which was a statement, not a command? He finds, further, that this explanation of his conduct is incompatible with a later passage, where he tells us that his task has been imposed upon him 'in oracles and in dreams and in every other way in which divine ordinance has ever enjoined a task on man.' This, Mr. Hackforth argues, is all that Socrates himself gave by way of explanation; the other is Plato's, who sought to find in the oracle the sole inspiration of his master's mission.

Turning from Mr. Hackforth's book to the text, we find that Socrates told the story in order to explain, not the inspiration of his mission, but the form it took—the form of crassest questioning, which caused him to be misrepresented and misunderstood' (20d, 21b). Nowhere does he say, as Mr. Hackforth would have us believe Plato made him say, that the oracle was the sole source of his inspiration.

Consider the attitude of mind which lies behind such criticism. Mr. Hackforth himself seems to feel that some apology is needed. 'Plato thought, wrongly but not unnaturally . . . that this was indeed the missing explanation' (pp. 101-2). Thus may we, two thousand years afterwards, excuse Plato for misunderstanding the motive which inspired the life-work of his master! Mr. Hackforth's book seems to breathe that atmosphere of ideal scholarship, untroubled by reality, which still hangs about the courts of our university colleges.

Again, offended by what he calls a lack of modesty (really it is only a lack of false modesty) in Socrates' account of his public services, Mr. Hackforth infers that this part of the speech was inserted by Plato in order to praise his master. Thus we are asked to believe that, in his desire to praise, Plato exposed his master to undeserved reproach. When Plato wished to praise, he wrote the *Symposium*. When he wrote the *Apology*, his motive was—why not?—to tell the truth. Mr. Hackforth does not face that question. If he had, he would not have written this book.

G. T.

**The Laws of Plato.** Translated into English by A. E. TAYLOR. Pp. lxxviii + 380. London: Dent, 1934. 10s. 6d.

Professor Taylor has rendered another notable service to Platonic studies, and has made an important contribution to the lately accumulating literature on the *Laws*. His translation is based on Burnet's text, except where preference for other readings (frequently England's) is



recorded. A valuable introduction sets the dialogue in its place in relation both to Plato's work and times and to the general history of the subjects introduced; a full analysis of the argument is also given. A strong case is made for seeing Plato's social and political views here rather than in the *Republic*, the aim of which is (as Professor Taylor rightly says) 'throughout ethical rather than political.'

This translation will be welcomed by all whose main interest is in the subject-matter of the *Laws*; for surely never was a classical text 'done into English' with better success. Whether in the racy by-play of the conversational passages, or (more important) in the long stretches of continuous exposition on weighty subjects, the rendering is vigorous, clear and perfectly natural in its effect. And it is a signal achievement to have combined this degree of ease and fluency in literary style with the utmost possible faithfulness to the Greek even in places where faulty syntax or confused expression makes faithfulness difficult to attain. The student of the text itself will equally find this book an indispensable companion, and will be grateful to the translator for his numerous explanatory footnotes, which are lucid and helpful alike on astronomy, on jurisprudence and on whatever else may arise for comment.

The book is excellently printed. One or two errors have occurred in the setting of Greek words in the footnotes; the most obvious is, unfortunately, on page 1, where  $\beta\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma$  for  $\beta\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\tau$  destroys both sense and metre of a line of Homer. There are matters of accent on pages 201 and 219, and on page 248  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\varsigma$  should be  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\varsigma$ . A darker-coloured binding would have been more appropriate and serviceable for a volume which is likely to have constant and strenuous use.

D. T.

**Platon et l'art de son temps.** By P. SCHUHL.  
Pp. 123. Paris: F. Alcan, 1933. 20 fr.

The author of this short treatise examines very thoroughly Plato's statements on the theory and practice of the fine arts, and seeks to relate them to the tendencies of the period. He dwells especially on Plato's mistrust of that cult of 'illusion' which arose under the influence of Gorgias, and collects interesting evidence on the actual practices of  $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ , including various tricks of deception in painting and the development of perspective and of 'compensation' in architecture and sculpture. Plato's interest in the whole subject of 'imitation' is related to the contemporary rise of the portrait as a form of art. Justice is done to his central

belief in beauty, measure and proportion as essential elements in the world of reality.

The essay itself fills only 72 pages, and the rest of the volume is given to several appendices (the first, on archaistic tendencies in Athenian art of the time, is of special interest), indexes which include a full list of the Platonic passages quoted, and a very useful bibliography of the subject. Clearly written and fully documented, this little book is of real value.

D. T.

**Platon Kriton.** By R. HARDER. Pp. 74.  
Berlin: Weidmann, 1934. 2 m.

This brochure gives the text of the *Crito* with a parallel German version, followed by a brief essay. The author dwells mainly on the political aspects of Plato's message and influence, with special reference to German theory on the subject. He emphasises Plato's insistence on citizenship, and on the duty of obedience to the laws of the land as embodying the divine law. This point of view is illustrated from other Greek writers also. The whole is an earnest and interesting attempt to enlist Plato as an advocate of thorough and devoted obedience to the  $\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \pi\acute{o\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ .

D. T.

**Aristote et les mystères.** Par JEANNE CROISSANT. Pp. ix + 217. Liège: Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, and Paris: Droz, 1932. 55 fr.

Aristotle has some brief and pregnant, but, in the present state of our knowledge of his teaching, obscure remarks about  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , *Polit.*, 1341<sup>a</sup> 21 sqq., 1341<sup>b</sup> 32 sqq.; *Port.*, 1449<sup>b</sup> 27-3. It has long been asked whether, when he speaks of 'purging' certain passions by music or tragedy, he means getting rid of them or purifying them, and in either case, whether the metaphor is taken from the action of a cathartic or an emetic on the body or of certain rites on the religious condition of the person who undergoes them. Mlle. Croissant, in this acute and well-reasoned monograph, assays the problem anew and comes out to a result plausible and self-consistent, almost certainly on the right lines, and to be criticised, if adversely, only by a somewhat detailed and technical study of that very obscure problem, the order of the composition of Aristotle's works and consequently the chronology of his mental development. Briefly, her solution is as follows. She adds to the passages from the *Poetics* and *Politics*, of which she mostly deals with the latter, since it is much the fuller, the famous fragment conserved by Synesios in his *Dion* (frag. 15 of Rose's later, 45 of his earlier collection),  $\text{'Αριστοτέλης ὁμοῖ τοὺς τιθεμένους τὸ νόμιμον$



τι βίη δὲ αὐτῆς παθεῖν καὶ διαταρῆσαι, ἐξηκουσὶν γυναικῶν ἀξίον. For her, and here she seems most certainly to be right, it is almost meaningless to distinguish, in Aristotle, between a physiological and a religious sense of *κάθαρσις*. To him, in his more developed stages of thought, the two were one. At the beginning of his career he was strongly influenced by the Platonic view of the mystic perception of truth immediately and not by process of reasoning, as being something higher than reason itself in its ordinary manifestations; but Plato's wholly naturalistic explanation of *εὐπορίας βουλήν* (*Laus*, 790 E) was to prove still more fruitful in the mind of a born experimenter and biologist. While in the comparatively early *Eudemian Ethics* (1248<sup>39-41</sup>) Aristotle is still disposed to allow to persons of melancholic or enthusiastic temperament and to the consistently lucky a certain supernatural factor, Plato's *θεῖα φύσις*, he later credited such phenomena to lower mental strata and gave a wholly physiological explanation of them, connected with his general theory of the cause of the melancholic state. This did not involve dismissing such manifestations as worthless: *Prob.*, 30, 1, which whether by Aristotle himself or not is certainly Aristotelian in doctrine, discusses the question why men of genius (*πρῆτοι ὄντες*) are all melancholic. In general, he did not assign so low a place to the emotional life as his master had done, and sought to regulate it rather by harmless satisfactions than by repression. To the kind of satisfaction he favoured the name *κάθαρσις* applies quite literally, if we consider what Aristotle's views of physiology were. The cold humour of black bile is, in some temperaments, too strong for the natural heat of the body to digest, and the resulting *σπῆλαι* is distressing. A purge is also of cold nature, and its effect is to aggravate *σπῆλαι* to such an extent that it is wholly rejected by the system, carrying with it as it goes the original irritant, or some of it. But a similar effect can be produced on the psycho-physiological manifestations of melancholy by other means, whereof the more moving kind of music is one. At first the hearer is excited; later, the excitement being appeased, there follows a pleasurable and wholesome state of calm. In like manner, the temporary excitation of pity and fear by tragedy and of religious emotions involving fear and depression by the ritual of mysteries, Eleusinian or other, end by bringing about a like reaction, which has always a physical basis.

This is the general explanation in this interesting little treatise of Aristotle's meaning. The

authoress further has some good remarks on the permanent value of the theory, independent of its long obsolete physiology,<sup>1</sup> and deals well with the different attitudes of Plato and Aristotle towards those forms of art which have no obvious educational and intellectual value. An appendix discusses the new light thrown on frag. 15 by a recently published fragment of Michael Psellos and deals further with Aristotle's attitude toward mystery-religions.

H. J. R.

**The Epigrams of Callimachus.** Translated by G. M. Youso. Pp. 142. Oxford University Press, 1934. 6s.

As might have been expected, our author is enthusiastic over the Epigrams of the famous Alexandrian, finding in them 'his wit, phenomenal talent for versification, command of words, irony and reserve,' and credits him with being the originator of society verse, alluding with clarity and ease to familiar literature and current events. The present translation is more than usually successful. It is neat and accurate. He does not, however, always choose satisfactory meters. For instance, iv, xxi, xxx are turned into 4-line stanzas, of which the first three are 4 or 5 feet, but the last only one foot. In iv this is not much amiss, as the emphasis on the concluding single-foot line suits the sense fairly well, but it is not so with xii and xxx, where the emphasis is far too great, and, moreover, the rhythm of this stanza and the elegiacs of iv and xii have no affinity. The exigencies of rhyme and metre are responsible for insertions and inversions, such as 'sublime' to rhyme with 'time' (iv), and 'craft marine' of a nautilus, where also the adjective is superfluous, while *καταλ βρομῆ* (xv) is expanded into 'fine and tenderly-wrought delights,' and in lviii one whole line is inserted. In the clever punning epigram, quite successfully rendered, on a salt-cellar dedicated to the Cabiri, Eudemus is said to have 'fared on his salt-cellar,' which he must have been a sort of ostrich to do. Again, can 'mate' (Ep. x) be logically used for one of three? The translation, 'my heart is all of a quiver' for *ὃ ἀποπῶ* in xxxviii does not commend itself. In a good epigram (xxxvi) adequately rendered *σπῆλαι* is translated 'He's burnt', i.e. by love's flame, but would not 'scorched' be nearer the meaning of the

<sup>1</sup> 'L'esprit psychologique qui a fait naître l'interprétation des mystères, la sagesse du moraliste qui sait reconnaître et utiliser la dépendance où se trouve l'éthique à l'égard de la psychologie, donnent à la théorie d'Aristote un intérêt que le temps ne diminue pas' (p. 111).



verb? It is rather too bold a metaphor to call a 'toast' (xl) a sacrament. The rhyme of 'sanctuary' to 'I' is to be deprecated (xi).

The book starts off well with Epigram no. 1, *On his Poetry*:

You pass the grave of Battus' son  
Who well could chant a lofty strain,  
And no less well, in lighter vein,  
Attune his Muse to wine and fun.

But why not 'timely' for 'lively' (*salpia*)?

In the Introduction this epigram is praised, as shewing how Callimachus set his epigrams on a level with his more serious and important poems. But, as a matter of fact, many of his epigrams, though real and poetical enough, are rather commonplace in thought and wanting in inspiration. For instance, the one on Battus, the father of Callimachus, does not satisfy even Mr. Young himself. It does not mention Battus by name, and the consequent ambiguity has led readers astray as to who is referred to. No. xxvi, 'Evagmetus' does not lack point, and is cleverly rendered. 'Love's Chase' is a good specimen, as is also the translation (no. xxxiv). The notes are useful, but Theocritus (pp. 131 ff.) is discussed at somewhat inordinate length. Another, on p. 138, referring to *Ἐσπερος, πῶς ἔμολε*; said in connexion with a go-burner lamp, dedicated in the temple of Sarapis, but having in sense nothing whatever to do with the quotation from Isaiah, 'How art thou fallen from heaven, O Daystar, son of the morning!' This is an exclamation, the other is a question. The superficial resemblance must have struck any reader and did not need a Walter Headlam to point it out. It is surprising that in the note on *Achelus* for water (p. 141) the familiar parallel of our own 'with no allaying Thames' was not quoted.

Callimachus wrote at least one supreme valedictory poem, the one addressed to Heraclitus; so well known from Cory's version. We have it very closely and carefully rendered here. Our only quarrel with it is the undue emphasis laid upon 'mist' at the end of a line and the inadequate 'sped' for *καταβόσκου*.

We have noticed only one slight misprint, 145 for 146 in the note to Epigram x.

**Proclus: Elements of Theology.** Edited by E. R. Dodds. Pp. xlviii + 340. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933. 30s.

Although the *Elements of Theology* have been edited three times before, once in the seventeenth century and twice by the same scholar in the nineteenth, the work before us is virtually

an *editio princeps*. Portus and Creuzer both used manuscripts of an inferior family, and their knowledge of the Greek language and of Greek philosophy left much to be desired. It is enough to read the first two or three propositions in the present text beside Creuzer's second edition to become aware of the vast improvement which Professor Dodds has achieved.

Creuzer added to the *apparatus* of his text of 1822 an assortment of references—'mainly irrelevant,' as readers of his Plotinus do not need to be told; but it was reserved for the present editor to provide not only the first commentary on the *Elements*, but also the fullest body of genuinely illustrative material which a Neoplatonic author has yet received. In so doing he has thrown a flood of light on the last period of Greek speculation—a period of tremendous influence which historians of philosophy have generally dismissed with a few uneasy paragraphs. Professor Dodds has elucidated both the thought and the language of his author with the utmost candour and penetration, and it is difficult to think of a pioneer work in the field of modern classical scholarship which carries so convincing an air of finality.

The plan of the book is as follows. The introduction deals with the scope of the *Elements* and their relation to other works of Proclus; gives an estimate of Proclus' originality and debt to his predecessors, and of his influence on mediaeval thought; and surveys the manuscript-tradition (43 manuscripts are called to witness, apart from translations and editions). The text, with translation *sis-à-vis*, is followed by a commentary which treats the propositions both in groups and singly. Appendices are devoted to the *ἐννοεῖς θεοί* in Neoplatonism (with special reference to Norden) and to the astral body, which is said to be mentioned explicitly first in Proclus. A full *index verborum* is not the least valuable part of the work.

**La formation des noms en grec ancien.** By P. Chantraine. Pp. xxvii + 473. Paris: Champion, 1933.

In 1927 M. Chantraine published his *Histoire du parfait grec* (see *JHS.* 1925, 303). He has now increased our debt to him by a comprehensive study of noun-formations classified by suffixes. It is a work of great industry and value, and if it lacks the stylistic and semantic interest of the history of the perfect tense, that is the fault of the subject, not of the author. Detailed criticism involving discussion of minute philological points would perhaps be out of place in these pages and may be deferred to another



occasion, but no review, however brief, should fail to pay tribute to M. Chantraine's knowledge and labour.  
T. A. S.

**Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften.** By EDWIN MAYSER. Band II. 3: Satzlehre, Synthetischer Teil. Pp. vi + 263. Berlin und Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1934. 36 m.

Parts 1 and 2 of Volume II of Mayser's great grammar were reviewed in *JHS.* liv, p. 96, and since the plan and execution of the work were then discussed it is hardly necessary to do more than call attention to the appearance of this instalment, which brings the work to a worthy conclusion. The author deals in this part with the sentence as a whole, and exhibits the same range of research and systematic and painstaking arrangement of his materials as in previous instalments. This part has a separate pagination and its own indices. One can only repeat what was previously said, that the work is an impressive monument of German scholarship at its most conscientious.

**Palmyra.** By THEODOR WIEGAND and others. 2 vols. Pp. 171 in text; 100 plates and a map. Berlin: Heinrich Keller, 1932. 155 m.

This great piece of work was published under the auspices of the Constantinople branch of the Archaeological Institute of the German Government. If the subject was too hedged about with restrictions in 1902 and 1917—the dates of the two campaigns which produced it—it was supremely worth tackling. As we should expect, Dr. Wiegand and his colleagues have shown indefatigable industry and thoroughness. Palmyra is indeed an immense subject. Since its first publication by Wood in 1758, it has never been attempted as a whole. The present work is the nearest approach to it that could be made before the complete clearances now being effected by the French Department of Antiquities in Syria. It is a brilliant study rather than a final publication.

Palmyra is a difficult architectural site. It does not show the uninterrupted continuous growth of a smaller site like Jerash, resulting in comparatively ordered arrangement. This is evident in any complete view of the site, from a high point such as the Arab castle, in which the building evidences seem scattered about like so many ninepins, with only the great temple and its enclosure as a dominant mass. Yet there are

many things that are impressive at close quarters—the principal grave-towers, the centrepiece of 'Diocletian's camp,' the 'grave-temple,' the Basilianin temple; and, above all, the great east-to-west colonnaded street with its tetrastylon, and its triptylon with monumental archways.

The book opens with a study of the Romano-Arab monuments on the Damascus-Palmyra road, followed by a plan and pen-sketch of the Arab castle that is such a picturesque feature of the western approach. This is again followed by a presentation of the bewildering site-planning and external features of the principal grave-monuments of Palmyra, which are broadly grouped in two separate divisions at its western end, and so on until the culminating building, the Bel Temple, is reached. This last produces the most thorough and, at the same time, the most imaginative work in the book. The signs of haste in some of the architectural drawings are less apparent in the delineation of the vast enclosing walls and gateways of the temple precinct. The very last plate—a large folding one—is, perhaps, the most impressive of all, representing, in complete form, a longitudinal section of this and a restored elevation of the western side. Considering that a great deal of the actual material in position must have been buried over or 'squatted' on, these are wonderful drawings, forming a great piece of architectural research.

Intensely interesting as the Bel Temple is shown to be, for the first time, it is, of necessity, impossible for a final presentation of the building to be made until the fuller investigations of the French architects are published. The French Department of Antiquities has not only cleared away, already, a great part of the Arab village that was close up to the Temple site, but has built a new village for the dispossessed occupants. The architects' working drawings of the Temple will include a cross section much more complete and exact than the present one, and this will, no doubt, be supplemented by detailed photographs of the series of sculptured vertical slabs which supported the pteron roof, spanning the space between each column and the cella wall, and constituting the most remarkable feature of this very striking and beautiful building.

Apart from certain matters affecting the Bel Temple, the treatment of the Necropolis buildings and of the site plan is also incomplete. The map is welcome as a good sketch map of the entire site with useful contour lines, but it can hardly pretend to be more. As to the tombs, the fine painted one is not shown at all; and for the interiors of the Elahbel and Jamishu



tombs we are given only the engraved drawings of Cassas. Excellent as these are in their way, we shall expect to see, in due course, complete architectural drawings of such unique works.

The text, which goes fully into the history and probable dating of the various elements at Palmyra, must be accepted with some reserve, in view of important evidences which could not be disclosed before the fuller investigations now proceeding are completed. The authors express surprise at the absence of monumental public or private thermal establishments, but—at any rate with regard to the former—it seems possible that these would not necessarily exist in the form to which we are accustomed in West-Roman sites. The photographic plates in the larger volume are beyond all praise, and indeed all the illustrations (except for the inevitable signs of haste in some of the architectural detail already referred to) are adequate. The text volume is amply provided with smaller photographic and line illustrations. The French authorities will no doubt supplement this publication gradually, continuing the excellent short monograph by M. Gabriel, published in 1926. It is at any rate satisfactory to realise that this fine German work will remain for many years the standard one for the site as a whole.

T. F.

**Antioch-on-the-Orontes. I: The Excavations of 1932.** By G. W. ELDERSIN and others. Pp. viii + 156; 17 plates (one in colour) and 200 figures in the text. Princeton University Press, and Oxford University Press, 1934. \$12.

The excavations at Antioch are being conducted by Princeton University in association with the Museums of Baltimore and Worcester and the *Musées Nationaux de France*. The project of an extensive exploration of the site of the capital of the Seleucids naturally awakens the highest hopes, and it was with eager anticipation that we turned to this report of the first year's work, in which, it appears, some researches of more recent date are incorporated.

The report, however, has nothing sensational to offer. The area of operations is near the river north of the modern town. Here some of the trial trenches appear to have been barren of results, and the principal discoveries discussed are three bath-buildings of Roman date, two of them quite unimportant. We are also given preliminary studies of the great *Circus* and of the lamps and pottery. Sculpture and inscriptions are almost entirely absent, and the only finds of artistic importance are the mosaics. It was not to be expected, though, that a site

with the history of Antioch would reveal all its secrets at the end of a single season of digging, and we can only wish the excavators better luck in future campaigns; though there are ominous hints that difficulties may arise with water in the Hellenistic levels. What does give ground for criticism, however, is the high price we are asked to pay for these unfinished reports and preliminary essays. Where scarcely a single chapter makes any pretence to finality, we might well have dispensed with so sumptuous and extravagant a publication; in fact, a report might with reason have been deferred until the excavation had reached a more definite stage.

The best thing in the book does not come from the American excavations at all, but is a publication in French by M. J. Lassus of the mosaics of Yakti, where chance led the *Service des Antiquités* to the villa of *Ardaburius, magister militum* at Antioch about 450. Here two excellent mosaics were uncovered, one of a sea-goddess in the midst of fishing-scenes and dolphins; the other is a medallion of *Megalopsychia* around which an elaborate hunting composition is disposed. The border of this is the most remarkable feature, a series of pictures of *Daphne* and *Antioch*, the monuments inscribed, the inhabitants represented at work and play. Illustrations of this most interesting topographical document have since appeared in the *American Journal of Archaeology* (1934, 20-23).

**The Hadrianic School: A Chapter in the History of Greek Art.** By JOCELYN M. C. TOYNBEE. Pp. xxxi + 254; 69 plates. Cambridge: University Press, 1934. 42s.

It is becoming increasingly evident that the second century after Christ is one of the decisive moments in the history of European art. Just as the Roman empire then reached its widest physical extension, so the art of the Mediterranean world attained a point in its development at which it was obliged either to advance along a new and unfamiliar path or to repeat itself and so wear out. There was an instant of hesitation; and it is this phase that Miss Toynbee has chosen to study. The title of her book shows quite clearly the orientation of her interests; and in her introduction she defines the scope of her inquiry and her conception of the material at her disposal. The art of the Roman empire, according to Miss Toynbee, is the last of the four great episodes of Greek art—its predecessors being, of course, the archaic, the classical, and the Hellenistic. Since the Roman empire, as a historical fact, was the realisation of the



Hellenistic oecumenical idea, its art was necessarily the adaptation of the Hellenistic idiom to the understanding and requirements of a Mediterranean audience. 'The true secret of imperial Rome,' Miss Toynbee writes, 'lay in her power to use and absorb everything she found and, in appropriating it, to turn it all into something new—not new in the sense that she conceived new ideas, but in the sense that she gave ideas already conceived a new existence in the realm of actuality.'

This summarises so well the contribution of the Roman empire to European culture that it is a little disappointing that Miss Toynbee should have concentrated her attention on two aspects only of this achievement; and that even so she should have approached the problem, as it were, from the outside, and not as part of an organic process. The two aspects which Miss Toynbee does examine are the coin-series which express the Hadrianic Imperial Idea and the sarcophagus-reliefs which reflect the counterpart of that idea, the new consciousness of the individual and the interest in his destiny. It was an admirable notion to present these two aspects of the Hadrianic *Weltanschauung* as the obverse and reverse of the same idea; and Miss Toynbee has worked it out in a most original and illuminating way. Her first part deals with the use of personifications of cities and provinces as instruments of imperial propaganda. She discusses the history of the local personifications in Greek art, briefly summarising the conclusions of Gardner, Bieńkowski, Jatta, and others; and enumerates the chief allegorical treatments of this kind in pre-Hadrianic art. Then follows a detailed examination of the 'Province' series of Hadrianic coin-issues, and their Antonine imitations; and as an appendix there is a short chapter on the Provinces from the Hadrianeum, in which Miss Toynbee adopts the modern view that these high reliefs belonged to the inside, not the outside of the building. This is perhaps the most valuable section of Miss Toynbee's book; and the care with which she has collected and sifted the evidence, and the mass of archaeological material she has produced and interpreted will earn the gratitude and lighten the labour of all future students of this intricate subject.

The second part is devoted to that remarkable phenomenon of the Hadrianic period, the revival of the practice of burial. Miss Toynbee, in accounting for this, rejects both the superficial explanation (that it was due simply to a change of fashion) and the profounder one (that it was due to the influence of mystery religions); and

adopts a psychological interpretation of her own, based on a supposed intensification of the individual self-consciousness which would entail a desire to preserve the personal relics and a concern about the future destiny of the soul. Following a suggestion of Prof. Nock, she ascribes this to Greek influence: a thesis which seems hard to maintain when the geographical distribution of burial and cremation is borne in mind and the incidence of individualised sepulchral portraiture is considered. Miss Toynbee divides her monuments into three classes: mythological and decorative sarcophagi and altars. Her analysis of these is mainly stylistic; and this leads her to discuss in greater detail the major formal problems of imperial Roman art to which she had alluded in her introduction—namely, the representation of space and the continuous narrative style.

These two problems are in reality one, although Miss Toynbee does not explicitly recognize it as such. She rightly points out that the treatment of the third dimension in Roman painting and relief-sculpture continues a process of exploration which had gone on since at least the middle of the fifth century B.C. But she does not point out that there is a break—or at least so rapid a forward bound that it looks like a break—between what we know of pre-Roman Hellenistic space-composition and the treatment of the depth-dimension in early imperial landscape like the *Odyssey* pictures in the Vatican. She does not differentiate between the scenic closed space of the average Hellenistic picture, influenced—as Bulle maintains—by the usage of the theatre, and the panoramic view of the *Odyssey* pictures, of many Roman villa- and harbour-landscapes, and (in a different form) of tapestry-like compositions such as the Nilotic pavement at Palestrina. She does not reckon with the possibility that one represents an Asiatic and the other an Alexandrian tradition. These distinctions are probably of cardinal importance for the understanding of the inconsistencies and contradictions in Roman painting; and the fact that these hypothetical origins are largely an *a priori* construction of the historian does not dispense us from the necessity of facing the problem at the start.

The same applies to the origins of the continuous narrative style, so much debated since Wickhoff first posed the problem forty years ago. Miss Toynbee candidly admits that no complete examples of this method occur until the imperial age; it appears first in the *Odyssey* landscapes and in the marble reliefs, kindred in subject and about contemporary in date, called



*tabulae iliacae*. There is some reason to think that these panoramic landscapes with a high viewpoint are derived from Mesopotamia, possibly through Antioch but more probably through Alexandria, as many of them contain Egyptising elements. It is quite uncertain, however, whether they existed in this form in the Hellenistic East in pre-Roman times. The existence of the continuous style depends on the demand for narrative art in the shape of a running pictorial commentary. The Greeks of the classical period did not feel the need for such an art; they converted history into myth, and presented a sequence of events as a succession of dramatic moments. The Hellenistic kings may have borrowed such a narrative art from the east; but if they did, we know nothing about it. The only monument decorated with contemporary historical scenes is that set up by Aemilius Paulus at Delphi to commemorate the battle of Pydna; Miss Toynbee confidently dismisses the possibility of Italic influence, but its isolation and its unequivocally Roman manner are highly suspicious.

Miss Toynbee's reason for discussing the representation of the third dimension and the continuous style is in order to prove that they are not used in Hadrianic sarcophagi; and this she accomplishes without much difficulty. Her discussion of the originality of Roman portraiture is less relevant as she dismisses Hadrianic portraits in half a page; but as she seems to have been misled by certain highly speculative and obscure writers on the subject, it is worth a moment's attention. In claiming that all the aesthetic elements in imperial portraiture are Greek in origin, she uses the words 'realistic' and 'veristic' as if they were interchangeable. But this is not so: 'realistic' is a subjective term (in relation to the artist); 'veristic' is an objective term (in relation to the work). They are bad words, but they express an important distinction. The Hellenistic artist may be called a realist because he works towards the real effect of an organic whole by using plastic metaphors which represent the appearance of nature by analogy. The Italic work may be called veristic because it aims at reproducing the original by literal attention to detail. In Roman imperial portraiture the two methods were superimposed; and sometimes one stood out and sometimes the other.

The least successful feature of Miss Toynbee's book is its title. She chose it deliberately, but still it misrepresents both the facts and also the use she makes of them. In the first place there was no single 'Hadrianic School'; there were

Attic and Aphrodisian and Italian (and doubtless also Ephesian and Antiochene and Alexandrian and Lugdunense) schools, with their various local manners. And what they collectively achieved was not Greek art, but the art of the Roman empire.

R. H.

**The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul: Preliminary Report on the First Year's Work, 1931-32.** By THOMAS WHITTEMORE. Pp. 28; 21 plates; plan. Paris: The Byzantine Institute, 1933.

Professor Whittemore has begun his investigations of the mosaics in St. Sophia with the uncovering of the vault of the narthex and the lunette over the door leading on to the central axis of the church. The vault is covered with ornamental patterns on a gold ground; and in the secondary lunettes are large crosses. These mosaics date from the time of Justinian and are part of the original decoration of the church [532-7]. The lunette over the door is a later addition and contains a Christ enthroned, with an Emperor prostrated at his feet, and frontal busts of a male and a female figure in a medallion on either side. Apart from its importance as a work of art, this lunette, containing an imperial effigy, encourages the hope of an exact dating, and so of a new fixed point in the still somewhat uncertain chronology of Byzantine art. Arguing from the fact that this mosaic is not included in the list of Basil I's works by Constantine Porphyrogenetos, and comparing it with the coinage and with an ivory in Berlin, Professor Whittemore identifies this emperor with Leo VI the Philosopher [886-912].

Having obtained a date c. 900 for this composition, it is natural for us to compare it with the Paris manuscripts of the Homilies of St. Gregory Nazianzene [gr. 510] and of the Psalter [gr. 139], since the former can be dated to the reign of Basil I [880-886] and the latter probably belongs to the second quarter of the tenth century, the period of Constantine Porphyrogenetos. This comparison brings out a number of resemblances which are worth noting since they may help to solve the vexed question what is original and what is derivative in the miniatures in this group of manuscripts. In the first place the enthroned Christ corresponds in almost every respect, even to the shape of the throne and the text in the open book, with the figure in the frontispiece of 510. The prostrate figure of the emperor may be compared with the figure of David in the scenes of his penitence in both 510 [fol. 143<sup>va</sup>] and 139 [fol. 136<sup>va</sup>], and with the Apostles in the Resur-



rection [510, fol. 30<sup>v</sup>]. The busts in the medallions are distinctly more classicist in style than the Christ or the Emperor and may be compared with the personifications of Wisdom and Prophecy in 139 [fol. 7<sup>v</sup>]. But the composition as a whole cannot be regarded as a document of that archaizing style which has made the Paris manuscripts and their kin so celebrated; and it seems clear that if the Hellenistic style of the miniaturists does reflect the style of major painting during the so-called Macedonian Renaissance, that style was not omnipotent, and that there coexisted with it a hieratic style, of which our mosaic is now the most eminent representative. For in spite of certain Hellenistic details the total conception of space and form is not derived from the antique convention. The gold background excludes all reference to a mundane setting; the landscape and architectural accessories of the miniaturists are quite absent, and the figures themselves are dematerialised—the Emperor's features being treated in a less naturalistic way even than those of Christ.

These are only a few of the lessons we may learn from the noble composition which the care and skill of Professor Whittemore have restored to us; for the full realisation of its importance we may wait until it is seen in relation to the rest of the decoration of the church and until all the possible comparative evidence has been brought to bear on it. In the meantime we may congratulate Professor Whittemore unreservedly on the success of the first section of his enterprise, due to patience and the adoption of a sound method, and commend his promptitude in publishing careful descriptions and admirable photographs of his results.

R. H.

**Die Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel zwischen Hippodrom und Marmarameer.** By ERNST MAMBOURY and THEODOR WIEGAND. Pp. 71; 118 plates; 31 text-figures. Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1934. 80 m.

The researches published in this book were facilitated by the great fire of 1912 which devastated the whole region of dwelling-houses between the Hippodrome and the Sea of Marmara, and laid bare for systematic inspection a complex of Byzantine ruins whose disposition could previously be only conjectured. The explorations were carried out in 1918; and the material then collected has been since worked up by Mamboury, who is responsible for the measurements and plans, and by Wiegand, who has

described and interpreted the archaeological finds.

The area of the palace whose main layout is now determined falls into two main sections: the lower range of buildings on the shore; and the upper buildings on the same level as the Hippodrome. The remains of the sea-level palace, the Boucoleon, comprise a western group, including the so-called 'Tower of Belisarius,' an eastern group, the imperial landing-stage, and an almost square terrace. The upper palace, south of the Hippodrome, is divided into three groups running from west to east.

When the ruins of the Turkish houses were cleared away, it was found that the Byzantine substructures were preserved to a considerable height in some places; and it has been possible for Mamboury to restore the original aspect of several parts of the palace-complex without drawing upon his imagination more than was necessary. The substitution of fact for the groundless fancies of Ebersolt and Thiers is a great gain; and the scientific study of the imperial palace from the archaeological side is at last placed on a solid basis. The abundant literary testimonies, the collection and interpretation of which provided the justification of Ebersolt's book, are placed on one side; and Wiegand promises to deal with them on a future occasion. To coordinate these texts with the evidence of the ruins is not easy, because the descriptions of the palace given by Byzantine writers are not very clear and explicit; but it may well be possible to give their historical names to more of the newly-discovered remains than Wiegand has attempted in the purely archaeological section of his book. R. H.

Τὰ κοπτικά ὑφάσματα τοῦ ἐν Ἀθῆναις μουσείου κοσμητικῶν τεχνῶν. By ANNE APOSTOLAKI. Pp. 203; 2 coloured plates; 163 text-figures. Athens: Typographieion Estia, 1932.

The collection of Coptic textiles in the Museum of Decorative Arts at Athens is not large, but it contains a number of excellent pieces; and Madame Apostolaki has accomplished a useful task by publishing them with adequate illustrations and careful technical descriptions, and by prefacing these with a short history of ancient weaving and a convenient classification into printed [or rather, resist-dyed: i.e. *batik*], embroidered, tapestry-woven, pile, and *polymita* fabrics. This preface is reinforced by Madame Apostolaki's intimate knowledge of modern Greek textiles, which enables her to produce a great many interesting examples of the survival



both of the forms of garments and also of their decorative elements. Her dating of the pieces is, on the whole, in accordance with that of other authorities; but in some instances it seems to be too early—for example, no. 1839 [fig. 45], which she ascribes to the 2nd century, but which is surely of the 5th, like other polychrome loop-woven textiles with naturalistic figures in roundels.

**Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit herausgegeben von den Akademien der Wissenschaften in München und Wien. Reihe A: Regesten. Abteilung I: Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches, bearbeitet von FRÄNZ DÖLGER. 3 Teil: Regesten von 1204-1292. Pp. xix + 77. Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg, 1932. 10.50 M.**

In the field of Byzantine studies perhaps the greatest desideratum at the present time is a detailed history of the Empire from the recovery of Constantinople by the Greeks down to the Turkish conquest. By an unfortunate oversight the history of this restored empire was omitted from the fourth volume of the Cambridge Medieval History, and since then that omission has not been made good. The later parts of Prof. Dölger's *Regesten* will thus be of special value; they will form an indispensable basis for such a history. Since the writer of these lines has recently been making use of the second fascicle of the series, he may be allowed to express the hope that on the completion of the work a single complete bibliography for all parts will be given and that this bibliography will supply further particulars, especially in the citation of periodicals. Thus in the Bibliography to Part II we read 'Εκκλησιαστική Ἀλήθεια (Zeitschrift) [enthält Urkundentexte]': it would be convenient to know the volume and the series to which reference is made. The British Museum Library does not possess the first series in which the documents cited in Part II were printed. In this bibliography should also be included references which have been omitted: e.g. on p. 7 of Part II 'Sguros' is cited: the name cannot be traced in the Bibliography and it took the writer a considerable time before he discovered that the reference was to Vol. I of *Νεὰ Χρονία*. If students would collect any misprints (e.g. Part II, p. 5 *sf.*, read *Archivio giuridico* 33, for 23) which they may notice and forward them to Prof. Dölger, these could also be included in a list of corrections when the work is completed. For many a year to come all students of Byzantine

history will have reason to be grateful for these *Regesten*.  
N. H. B.

**Das Studium der byzantinischen Geschichte vom Humanismus bis zur Jetztzeit.**  
By ERNST GERLAND. Pp. 61. Athen: Chronika, 1934.

The compiler, known for his valuable studies of Venetian Crete, omits the Latin Orient from his survey, which includes Byzantine bibliography, novels and plays on Byzantine subjects, universal history so far as it concerns Byzantium, and a brief sketch, with long footnotes, of the leading writers in this department. He justly criticises the deficiencies of the Bonn *Corpus* and Hopf's lack of style, is severe to Gibbon, praises Finlay, and thinks that 'we still stand in the footsteps' of Du Gange. He shows how several scholars, Hopf, Fallmerayer and Schlosser, were attracted by chance to Byzantine studies, and describes their recent progress in Russia, hampered, however, as far as the West is concerned, by the lack of an international language, and mainly concentrated on internal, social and economic history. His conclusion is that Byzantine is 'an integral part of medieval history.' He omits to mention Neale's *Theodora Phairissa* and that best-seller among Byzantine novels, Jean Lombard's *Byzance*, of which the 53rd edition was published in 1902.

W. M.

**Μεσαιωνικά Μνημεία τῆς περιόδου τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῶν κλιτύων Ὑμηττοῦ-Πεντελικοῦ Πάρνηθος καὶ Αἰγάλεω.** By ANAST. K. OKLANDOS. Pp. 123-231. Athen, 1933.

This forms the third part of the *Index of the Medieval Monuments of Greece*<sup>1</sup> and mentions the monuments of the period from the fifth century A.D. to 1830, including those now destroyed, with 147 plates and a map. They include such historic monasteries as Daphni, St. John the Hunter (really that of Basileios Kynegros), Ntaou, Kaisariane, those of Petrakes and of the Confessors, Asteri, and the two Byzantine edifices called 'Frankish Churches,' because they were taken by Frankish monks at the Latin conquest, besides the hermitage in the cave of Penteli with its frescoes of the late twelfth century. A few Turkish monuments, e.g. the Spring of Hadji Ali the Haar-kes, complete the collection. The compiler is naturally strongest on architecture, of which Ntaou is a unique example in Greece. It is generally supposed that it shows Georgian influence, the site having

<sup>1</sup> *JHS.* xlvii, 97; 1, 166.



been the property of a Georgian, who called it Tao, corrupted by the Franks into Da-Ho or Hu, of which the present name is an Albanian distortion. Rebuilt by Anadromares some time before 1614 and subsequently destroyed by Algerine pirates, it confirms the statement, lately denied by Stadtmüller in his treatise on Akominatos, that Georgians studied at Athens in the Middle Ages. The interesting account of Daphni mentions the rejection by the heraldic expert, Typaldos, of the theory that the sarcophagus with the armorial bearings is that of a De la Roche. The architectural description of the chief monuments is accompanied by an historical summary and a bibliography, in which Kampouroglous, the historian of Turkish Athens and the modern 'Anadromares' of Attica, naturally takes a leading place, while our countryman, Comyn, figures in that of Ntaou. Fortunately contemporary Greece takes more care of her medieval remains than did the destructive town-planners of Otho's reign, and the British School studies them.

W. M.

**Le Fortificazioni di Napoli di Romania.** By GIUSEPPE GEROLA. Pp. 66. Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1934.

As a sequel to his works on the Venetian monuments of Crete and the memorials of the Knights of Rhodes in the Dodekanese,<sup>1</sup> the author here describes, with 47 illustrations, the fortifications of Nauplia during the two Venetian occupations, 1384-1540 and 1684-1715. They fill four sections—the Akropolis (Ich-Kaleh), the town (not inhabited till 1502), the island, and Palamidi. Although there were Byzantine fortifications on the Akropolis, the Venetians neglected the defences of Nauplia till the loss of Negroponte in 1470 alarmed them, and Pasqualigo resolutely strengthened this Venetian outpost by new defences on the Akropolis and by erecting the castle on the island, nowadays a dancing-place since it has ceased to be the residence of the public executioner. Palamidi, which dominates Nauplia, was not fortified, owing to the expense, till towards the end of the second Venetian occupation, when Grimani and Sagredo, whose arms still adorn this castle, insisted upon the necessity in that period of more powerful artillery. The works were unfinished when Nauplia was betrayed to the Turks, whose emblems on Palamidi shew that they completed the fortification, of which the Dalmatian Giasirli had been the engineer.

An appendix contains the inscriptions on the Venetian cannon still standing, one of which bears the arms of the Elector of Saxony, Johann Friedrich (1532-47). Sig. Gerola justly stigmatises the vandalism which has recently destroyed the land-gate of the town and the historic Baluardo Delfin, through which the Turks entered in 1715. In order to erect a hideous law-court. Thus, Nauplia, like Negroponte, has been deprived of some of its most picturesque monuments of the Venetian period. On a recent visit the reviewer found that the first palace of King Otho—an historical landmark of modern Greek history—had also been levelled with the ground. In this connexion it may be added that the little boy in the fustanella in the forefront of Hess's picture of Otho's entry into Nauplia in 1833 was the future Prime Minister, Deligiannes.

W. M.

‘Ο ‘Αλῆ Παῖς ὅπως τὸν εἶδον οἱ περιηγηταί.  
By KOSTAS KAIROPHYLAK. Pp. 120.  
Athens: Petrales, 1934.

After his histories of Tenos and Frankish Athens,<sup>2</sup> the author gives a character-sketch of the ‘Lion of Joannina’—a monster without humanity, but a factor in the modern history of Greece, many of whose leading men, notably Kolettis, came from his court. The book, based on the accounts of travellers, like Holland, Hughes and Hobhouse, and officials, like Pouqueville and Leake, depicts the qualities of Ali—his savagery, inherited from his mother, his greed, his dread of being poisoned, his superstition, his valetudinary habits, and the real material progress of his dominions under his autocratic rule. One chapter contains his double-dealing with the ‘Friendly Society’, another gives four versions of the tragic story of Phrosyne, and there is a graphic account of the Nemesis on the island of the lake, where the reviewer saw the bullet-marks of Ali's executioners. Incidentally we are given an insight into the culture and social life of Joannina at the beginning of the last century.

W. M.

**The Expedition of the Florentines to Chios (1599)** described in contemporary diplomatic Reports and military Dispatches. Edited with an Introduction by PIERRE P. ARGENTI. Pp. 21, 228, and 3 plates. London: John Lane, 1934. 12s. 6d.

We welcome this fourth of the series of volumes which Mr. Argenti has devoted to the history of his native Chios. In 1932 he gave us *The*

<sup>1</sup> *JHS.* liii, 337.

<sup>2</sup> *JHS.* l, 362; liii, 337; lv, 103.



*Massacres of Chios*; in 1933 *The Expedition of Colonel Fabvier to Chios*, and also *Chios Liberata*; now we have this account of the ill-fated expedition of the Grand-Duke Ferdinand of Florence, instigated by a very irresponsible Frenchman, Jacques Roume. An outline of the story is given in the Introduction; the rest of the book consists of relative documents from Tuscany, Austria and Great Britain. The incident recorded is in itself interesting, and such books as these of Mr. Argenti are a real contribution towards making the materials of history readily accessible. As in all Mr. Argenti's books, the printing and general get-up are excellent. A note on p. xv gives a lamentable account of the recent destruction of the fortress of Chios: *quod non fecerunt Turci fecerunt Graeci*. Justly angry, Mr. Argenti asks, 'Must even the stones of the national monuments be converted into votes?' It is a very sad story. R. M. D.

**Vescovadi Cattolici della Grecia. I: Chios.**

By GIORGIO HOFMANN, S.J. Pp. 163. Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1934. 26l.

After researches in the archives of the Vatican, Genoa, Chios, Tenos and Constantinople, the author has published a short historical sketch of the Catholic Church in Chios from the Turkish conquest in 1566 to 1826, followed by 21 documents ranging from 1610 to 1827, of which the last gives a graphic account of Chios after the massacre of 1822. The Jesuits came in 1593, the Turks drove out the Catholics and turned their churches into mosques after the Tuscan invasion of 1599, as after the Turkish reconquest of Chios from the Venetians in 1695. Thenceforward the Catholics, who had been 5,000 in 1667 steadily declined to 456 in 1826 and to 300 to-day in the whole diocese, which has included Samos since 1792 and Lesbos since 1931. The Cathedral, burned in 1822, was again destroyed by the earthquake of 1881. There are 13 illustrations, including a portrait of Allatius, who founded a school in his native island in 1656 and three scholarships in Rome for his compatriots. A British document in Mr. Argenti's book on the Florentine expedition (p. 221) throws light on the attitude of the Catholic priests. W. M.

*Ἡ Βασιτοκρατομένη Ἀνατολή (Κρήτη καὶ Ἑπτάνησος).* By AGATHANGELOS XEROUCHAKIS, Archimandrite of the Greek church in Vienna. Pp. xv + 290. Athens: Phoenikos, 1934. 130 dr.

Long study of Cretan history under the Venetians, on which the author has published

three previous books, has prepared him for this account of the island, based upon the mission of Gritti, Garzoni and the accountant Castrafilaca to Crete and the Ionian Islands in 1582-4. Unfortunately, the work lacks system. Thus while he prints in an appendix Garzoni's report on Crete in the original Italian, he reproduces Castrofilaca's statistical tables in a Greek translation which, in the case of the Zantiote names, is not always accurate, while unfortunately of Gritti's report on the Ionian Islands only the part relating to Corfu has been found. Nevertheless, this learned volume gives a picture of conditions in these Venetian colonies in the period between the loss of Cyprus and that of Crete. We find the Greek and Venetian nobles of Candia loathing one another; the Sphakiotes, 'fiercest of the Cretans,' divided into the rival clans of Paterei and Papadopoulou; favoured Greeks classified as *privilegiati* and *graziosi*; the resources of the island unable to balance the budget without contributions from the Home Government and loans from the local Jews; the peasants reduced to misery by the extortions of their feudal lords and of the Greek priests. The total population was 204,183, the merchants being mostly foreigners. Of the fortifications Garzoni prophetically wrote that Venice 'should be very jealous of Grabusa, Suda and Spinalonga,' the three places which survived the Turkish conquest of the rest of Crete, and of which the last is now a leper settlement. This section owes much to Gerola's great work,<sup>1</sup> which supplements Castrofilaca's statistics. Of the Ionian Islands Kythera, which administratively belonged to Crete, had 3,162 inhabitants, Zante 14,954, Cephalonia 25,543, and Corfu 19,221, while the historic Parga, its continual dependency, included 607 with the garrison. Zante cost little for military defence, but Cephalonia and Zante sent the annual surpluses of their budgets to Corfu to pay for its fortifications, for it was considered 'the bulwark of Italy,' and required further large contributions from Venice, besides the dues on the fisheries of Butrinto, its chief source of local revenue. The general conclusion is that these Venetian colonies 'are depicted by the commissioners in black colours,' the fiscal system was oppressive, and the officials extortionate, in spite of the Home Government's good intentions. The book contains four plans of the three cities and of the fort of Suda. The list of errata might be considerably increased, as was inevitable in the case of Italian documents

<sup>1</sup> *JHS.* liii, 337.



printed in Athens. Professors Hatzidakis and Bees have provided an introduction and a 'critical note.'

W. M.

**Introduction à l'étude du dialecte tsakonien.**

By HUBERT PERNOT. (*Collection de l'Institut Néo-hellénique de l'Université de Paris, Tome II.*) Pp. 550. Paris, 1934.

When in 1892 in his *Einleitung in die neu-griechische Grammatik* Professor G. N. Hatzidakis gave the death-blow to older ideas that the origin of the peculiarities of Modern Greek were to be sought in the ancient Aeolic and Doric dialects, and shewed that the language was as a whole a development of the Attic *koine*, a new and very opposite view began to hold the field. This theory was briefly that the old dialects entirely disappeared, and that the *koine* spoken in all the Greek world was practically uniform over the whole area; from this uniform *koine* sprang at some date the modern language and all its widely differing brood of dialects. To this simple and too much simplified view the Tsakonian dialect, now spoken in the coastal region to the north-east of Sparta, was held to be the one exception; it was recognised as a descendant of some form of ancient Doric. In his earlier writings Pernot carried these views even further, and held that Tsakonian contained nothing Dorian: on the question of the α for η he preferred to reserve his opinion. I quote here from his 'Notes sur le Dialecte Tsakonien' in *Revue de Philologie*, IV, pp. 153 ff. On p. 177 he sums up: he thinks that at some undefined period Tsakonian received certain elements from emigrants from Asia Minor—to this I shall presently return—and that, apart from this, *ce fond n'a suivi une évolution comparable à celle des autres dialectes grecs*. The supposed Dorisms in Tsakonian he was ready to explain in other ways: except for his quite foreign admixture Tsakonian was regarded as parallel with the other Modern Greek developments of the *koine*.

But this uniformity of the *koine* cannot be thought of as in fact probable, and as early as 1901 Thumb in his *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus* was discussing dialectic differentiation in the *koine*; on p. 167 he expresses himself clearly on this point. Thumb discusses for the most part the *koine* possibilities of Egypt and Palestine: a distinctly western form of the *koine* has lately been made apparent by Gerhard Rohlfs' researches (*Scavi linguistici nella Magna Grecia* (Roma, 1933) on the dialects now spoken in the south of Italy).

This very reasonable belief that there were important local variations in the *koine* naturally

alters our attitude towards Tsakonian. It is no longer possible to regard it because of its Dorisms as an exception among the modern dialects; it merely appears as an extreme case of a dialect resting upon a special local form of the *koine*; it differs from such dialects as those of Pontos and Italy only in having a specially close contact with the ancient dialect spoken in the same region, which in this case was able, owing to the remoteness of the country, to impress its character strongly upon the incoming *koine*. It is these later researches, we may perhaps suppose, which have encouraged Pernot to revise his earlier ideas on Tsakonian. Recent observations made in the course of actual visits to the country have now led him to believe—I here quote from his pp. 102, 103—that *une phonétique doricque sous-jacente est perceptible dans le tsakonien actuel*. He considers that he has over-estimated the influence of the general *koine*, and made too little of the Dorian element. Although it springs like the rest of modern Greek from the *koine*, Pernot now thinks that Tsakonian is based on a local *koine* with a strongly Dorian tinge. The passage I quote is from the chapter called *La question des substrats*: with great candour the author explains this revision of his earlier views. The matter is not very simple, but I hope that I have represented his views fairly. Pernot then proceeds to a critical examination of the various Dorisms in Tsakonian. Then we have a chapter on the possibility in the dialect of some non-Greek element, perhaps Avar. We have seen that at one time he was inclined to seek for this foreign, non-Hellenic, element in Asia Minor. But now he sees in Asia Minor rather a field for Tsakonian influence, and compares certain elements in the modern Greek dialects of Asia Minor, especially of Sille, with Tsakonian, and with some force quotes local traditions in Asia Minor of immigrants from the Tsakonian region. But this problem he treats with very great caution: before anything like certainty can be arrived at, we need a closer study of what may still be gathered from the scattered speakers of these old Asia Minor dialects.

Another cardinal feature of Tsakonian is its interaction with the common Modern Greek. Tsakonia has for centuries been under the influence of the surrounding dialects of common Greek; for this reason no uniformity in the preservation of Doric features is either to be found or to be expected. Pernot demands some closer study of the Greek of the Peloponnese than any we have at present: with this it will be possible to go forward.

R



Space forbids me to do more than mention the chapters on phonetics, on the morphology and on the vocabulary. In an appendix we are given a translation of the account of a visit to Tsakonia by the seventeenth-century Turkish traveller, Evliya Chelebi. This part of his travels has not been before translated, and it adds to our already keen appetite for a full translation of this remarkable book.

Pernot has given us a book of the highest interest. It is not merely a masterly study of one of the most curious of the dialects of Modern Greek, but has a wider value for the light it casts on the relations between the ancient dialects and the *koiné* and between the *koiné* and Modern Greek and its dialects. It may be regarded as an important chapter in the history of the Greek language.

R. M. D.

**Scavi linguistici nella Magna Grecia.** By GERHARD ROHLFS. Pp. xv + 303, with 1 map. Rome: Collezione Meridionale Editrice, 1933. 25 l.

During the last ten years Dr. Gerhard Rohlfs has been publishing a series of books on the Greek dialects now spoken at Bova near Reggio and in the villages of the Terra d'Otranto near Lecce. In 1930 he produced his *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der unteritalischen Gräzität*, and now in this volume he has summed up the results of all these researches. The existence of this spoken Greek had been known to scholars at the Renaissance, and attention was again called to it in the early part of the nineteenth century: the language was held to be a survival from the old Magna Graecia. Soon, however, the opinion prevailed that this Greek was due to a tenth-century colonisation from the Byzantine empire; great stress was laid upon the words in Cicero's *De Amicitia*: *Magnumque Graeciam quae nunc quidem delata est*, and to Strabo's assertion that, with the exceptions of Tarentum, Reggio and Naples, the land had been barbarised. This was the opinion of Morosi, who was writing on these dialects in the seventies of the nineteenth century. Modern Greek, it was then thought, was hardly formed before the tenth century, and Morosi held that a language so like it as the Greek of Italy seemed to him to be, must have been formed in Greece itself, and would not have been ready for transport across the sea until the period of the revival of Byzantine power in Italy under the emperors Basil I and Leo VI.

But several scholars declined to follow Morosi. In 1899 the Belgian De Groot, who believed in

the Byzantine colonisation, held at the same time that these colonies did not create but only reinforced these old Italian centres of Hellenism. Already in 1892 Hatzidakis in his *Einführung in die neugriechische Grammatik* (p. 442) had expressed himself in favour of continuity: he clearly perceived the ancient element in these dialects. Rohlfs has now demonstrated beyond any reasonable doubt that the current of Greek speech in southern Italy has never been interrupted by any thoroughgoing process of latinisation. He has no difficulty in showing that the passages in Strabo and Cicero do not by any means force us to believe that Greek was no longer the general, domestic speech of southern Italy in their time. Morosi underestimated the ancient element to be found in these dialects. The Byzantine colonisation upon which he relied is supported by no adequate historical evidence. The later Albanian colonies in Italy are of course here not to the point. Recent researches too have shewn that Modern Greek is very much earlier than it was thought to be when Morosi was writing: Greek brought to Italy in the tenth century would be very much more like common modern Greek than these dialects are. This resemblance was much exaggerated by Morosi. Rohlfs examines the dialects and shews that it is a much more plausible view that this Greek of Italy developed, but in Italy, just as the rest of Modern Greek did, in the centuries after the Christian era, and that such resemblances as it has to common Greek are due to the fact that the Greek world was all one with numerous points of contact, while its numerous local peculiarities arose from the great distance between Italy and the natural centre of the language. This Greek of Italy is in fact to be regarded as a dialect of the western fringe of Greek, just as the dialects of Cyprus and Pontus developed their very marked features at its eastern limits. Like all the other dialects it developed from the *koiné*, but always with the probability, or even the certainty, that the *koiné* had local differences, and that here we have to deal with a very pronouncedly western *koiné*, which in its turn naturally enough carried in itself marks of the Greek spoken in the ancient cities of Magna Graecia.

Rohlfs has brought to the problem qualifications which no one before him has possessed. The earlier writers knew a great deal more of the dialect details of Greek than of Italian: even so they were not in as strong a position as we can be now, simply because it is only in very recent years that our knowledge of Modern Greek has become at all thorough, though even



at the very beginning of his career Hatzidakis knew enough to see several very weak points in the Morosi theory. But Rohlf's approaches the problem with a fresh instrument in his hands, a deep and thorough knowledge of the Italian dialects: he has done other work in the Romance field, and in Italy has served as one of the collectors for a great linguistic Atlas of the country. He has therefore studied the Greek of Bova and of the Terra d'Otranto with a background not only of the Greek of other regions, but also of the Italian dialects spoken in all the regions surrounding these little islands of Greek speech.

First he points out that the villages where Greek is spoken were until quite recently more numerous: Greek is shrinking: there is reason to believe that in the middle ages the area was enormously greater. And with this corresponds the fact that a great mass of Greek words are still in use in the Italian dialects of southern Calabria. He next remarks that there is a very considerable number of Greek words in the dialects spoken all over the south of Italy from Naples and Foggia southwards, an area which was certainly not grecised in the Byzantine period; these words must date from the period of the ancient Greek colonies in Italy, when Greek influence was very powerful over the whole country even as far as the gates of Rome. Even if Byzantine colonisation could account for the few villages where Greek is still spoken, it certainly could not have produced this Greek element spreading over so wide an area of Italy. He adduces other points. In the Italian of Calabria there are certain markedly Greek elements in the syntax. As in Greek, the infinitive has been lost, and its place has been taken by periphrases comparable to those now in use in Greek. Nor do the Italian dialects of this region seem to be old: they may rather be regarded as originating from a recent re-latinisation of this southern area.

Other signs of this continuity of Greek Rohlf finds in the continued use of Greek in inscriptions of a personal nature: it is those dealing with official matters that are written in Latin. Place-names and the names of the people afford further evidence, which goes right through the middle ages and extends beyond the period of Byzantine contact, when the supporters of the opposite theory would see the fresh introduction of Greek into the country.

We are then asked to looked at the character of the Greek itself. Behind it Rohlf sees a Dorian-Sicilian form of the *koiné*, and this he traces especially clearly in the dialect of Bova. He observes also a contingent of words that are

in ancient Greek, but not in any other of the modern dialects; these testify to two things: to the continuity of Greek in Italy, and to the formation of the dialect there to some degree in separation from the rest of Modern Greek; in both ways they are dead against the theory that these dialects are a result of a Byzantine colonisation in the tenth century, or to some yet vaguer and rather earlier arrivals when the Basilian monasteries of southern Italy were being founded. It is precisely here that I think that Rohlf's arguments might be strengthened by pointing out certain features which shew an evolution from the ancient language, but along different lines from those followed in the rest of the Greek world.

Morosi's accounts of the dialects of Bova and of the Terra d'Otranto are now scarce and hard to come by; the other writings on the subject are of much less importance. For dialect texts we must still go to Morosi and Palumbo, and for Bova to the files of *La Calabria*, but for the lexicographical study of this branch of Greek Rohlf's *Wörterbuch* and this *Sons* give abundant and reliable material. Both books are of great importance; they make us feel the depth of the impress of Greece upon Italy in the old world; they shed a flood of light on the linguistic condition of Italy in the Roman period and in the earlier medieval times; they give us a fresh chapter in the development of the language from the *koiné* into what is one of the more marked varieties of the modern language. Rohlf's general thesis, the continuity of Greek in Italy, we may hold to be now firmly established.

R. M. D.

Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν.—Λεξικὸν τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης.—Α'. Ἱστορικὸν λεξικὸν τῆς νῆας ἑλληνικῆς, τῆς τε κοινῆς διηγουμένης καὶ τῶν ιδιωμάτων. Τόμος Πρῶτος, Α-ΑΜ. Ρρ. πη + 561. Ἐν Ἀθήναις. 1933.

The title of this very substantial quarto, 12 by 9 inches, indicates that it is the first fascicule of the first part of an undertaking which the Academy of Athens has set before itself. The Dictionary they intend to make is, in fact, to take the form of a series of dictionaries, to cover every period of the Greek language. To do this in one work was soon found impossible, and the Academy resolved to make a beginning with the modern language, the valuable dialectic part of which is day by day disappearing under the influence of modern conditions. The necessity of at least three dictionaries is recognised: of Ancient and Hellenistic Greek; of the Greek of the Byzantine and Turkish periods; and a



dictionary of the Greek of to-day, of which we now have this first fascicule. Of a special Patristic Dictionary nothing, as far as I know, has as yet been said in Athens. Of the dictionary of the Greek of the Middle Ages, for which we have up to now hardly more than the great but now inadequate *Glossary* of Du Cange, a beginning has already been made.

Of the volume now before us it would be necessary to say very much more than will be found in this review, if Professor Phaidon Koukoules had not already given members of this society a full history of the compilation of this dictionary. In this article, *The Athens Modern-Greek Lexicon*, published in our Volume LIII, he printed a few samples and laid down the lines upon which the work was to be carried out. Now within a year of this preliminary article we have this first fascicule with an excellent introduction by the learned priest Anthimos A. Papadopoulos, who has now succeeded Professor Koukoules as editor-in-chief.

The period covered is from the year 1800 to the present day. The arrangement of the work is thoroughly scholarly. Under each *lemma*, to the selection of which great care has been given, we have, as Professor Koukoules promised us, first the various forms of the word as used in each several region of Greece; then its derivation, with references; and lastly its meanings, often illustrated by quotations and examples. There is, of course, no bar against the foreign words which have found their way into the language, words which cast so much light upon the cultural contacts of the Greek people. Here I must allow myself a comment. Under *ἄνω* are classed the innumerable imperative forms, *ἄνωμα*, *ἄνω*, *ἄνωι*, etc., and among the forms of the second plural we find the forms with initial *χ* and with *ν* (*d*) instead of *τ*, such as *ἄνι*, *ἄνιστε*, *χῆστε*, *χῆτε*, etc. These forms no doubt form a part of the same semantic cycle, but they ought not to be given without any reference to the Turkish interjection *hâide*, 'up!', for it can hardly be doubted that this has at least guided the paradigm of *ἄνω*, and given it its *χ* and *ν*. The explanation of these sounds given us here is hardly satisfactory. The general view is that *ἄνι* and the common *χῆστε* are simply the Turkish word taken over into Greek: in any case some influence of Turkish can hardly be denied, and ought to be acknowledged. *Ἀγάθη*, on the other hand, is very properly rescued from its supposed Italian or Turkish origin, and Xanthoudidis is followed in restoring it to *γᾶληνᾶ*.

The dictionary deals above all with the

language as it is spoken, and since the practice of Greek writers has been so largely restricted by the classical and Byzantine tradition, this means that an immense number of words here find for the first time their place in any dictionary. Of these words some are very widely diffused, and some may be called dialectal; in a language like Greek, in which the written and the spoken tradition have been kept so separate, the line is not easily drawn. Special efforts have been made to collect these words, and the services of innumerable local scholars and folk-lorists have been enlisted. The material takes the form of a great mass of manuscript collections formed by local scholars: some brought together recently; not a few from the stores of the *Φιλολογικὴ Σχολή* of Constantinople, which from the year 1863 did so much for the scientific and historical study of the Greek language. The production of these local glossaries and grammars has from the beginning been stimulated by the offering of prizes, and in this dictionary we now have the fruit of many years of such labour. It has been greatly to the advantage of the dictionary that care has been taken to have on the staff scholars from all parts of the Greek-speaking world. The present editor-in-chief is from Pontus. To the bibliography of printed books there is added an imposing list of these manuscript sources, all of which are thrown open with the greatest generosity to foreign scholars: I have myself in recent years spent many profitable hours in the scriptorium.

The necessity of the study of these dialects, if we are to form a correct idea of the relation of the modern to the ancient language, will be apparent from every page of the dictionary. As an example we may take the entries under *ἀνιχνίω*, the modern representative of *ἀνιχνύω*, and its various derivatives. The common word for 'to bark' is *γυνγίζω*, and one may be long in Greece without hearing anything else, but we can now learn that derivatives of the old *ἀνιχνύω* are in dialectic use from the Peloponnese to Thrace and from Italy to Cappadocia. In the present entry we have the forms in *ἀ*; no doubt under the lemma *ἀνιχνύω*, to which we are now referred, we shall find such forms as the Cappadocian *ἀνιχνύω* from Delmesso and *ἀνιχνύω* from Sinassos. The alphabetical presentation of such widely differing forms from one ancient word must have presented great difficulties: this method of cross references is probably as good as any other.

We may end with a few details on this present fascicule. The letter *ο* is swollen by the immense



number of words beginning with the  $\alpha$  privative; no other letters, except  $\kappa$  and  $\pi$ , and perhaps  $\sigma$  and  $\tau$ , will occupy so much space. An idea of the wealth of the book may be suggested by observing that of compounds with  $\delta\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$  we have 46 double-columned pages and about 650 entries. Many of these are names of plants, and I do not know where else the scholar interested in Greek botany and plant-lore will find such a collection. In the same way compounds of  $\delta\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$  fill the greater part of 30 pages;  $\delta\lambda\alpha\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\varsigma$  ( $\delta\lambda\alpha\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\varsigma$ ) and its compounds nearly 8; and so on.

As the work progresses no doubt many criticisms will be made. Omissions must inevitably occur, though they are not very easy for a foreigner who does not reside in Greece to detect. Nor is any dictionary dealing with a living language ever exempt from the necessity of supplements, and fresh words will no doubt continue to be gathered from the extraordinary richness of the country dialects. The object of this present review is no more than to give some idea of the immense stock of Greek now put before scholars for the first time in a clear and systematic way: the book is an indispensable instrument of work, and like all good dictionaries makes excellent reading. The scholars of Greece are to be warmly congratulated and we can only hope that fascicule will follow fascicule as quickly as possible.

The paper and general get-up are excellent. The typography, in which three fonts have been used, is clear and well arranged. The Greek Government has backed the Academy with its financial support, and the words on the half-title ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ ΜΒΕΝΑΚΗ ΕΥΟΦΗΤΕΙ shew the public generosity of a private citizen towards this truly national undertaking.

R. M. D.

\**Ἀναμνησις 1896-1900. I.* By LEONIDAS I. PARASKEUOPOULOS. Pp. 442. Athens: 'Ρυθίου,' 1933. Dr. 100.

Memoirs have become commoner in Greece, and General Paraskeuopoulos, who commanded the Greek army from 1918 to 1920, and refused the Premiership offered him by Pangalos in 1926, has made a valuable contribution not only to the military but also to the political history

of his country during a whole generation. This volume, beginning with the Macedonian question and the 'National Society,' ends with the armistice of Moudros. He shews how the Greek victory in the Marathon race at the Olympic Games of 1896 stimulated Nationalism; notes the first appearance of Venizelos, of whom there is an accurate character-sketch in his prime, and of whom he is a candid admirer; and considers that but for him the Bulgarians would have occupied Salonika before the Greeks in the first Balkan war. There are important conversations with him and Constantine, who told the author that he was 'alone responsible before God' and had warned Germany and Turkey of the impending British attack on the Dardanelles. There is much about the conduct of the Greek Princes, whose action in the European war is contrasted with that of the Serbian dynasty, and he reports a remark of Prince Nicholas, that George I's assassination was the 'work of foreign political interests.' He had a high opinion of King Alexander, the 'Young Marcellus' of Greece, who had the makings of a democratic constitutional sovereign like his grandfather, and called himself a 'Socialist.' He thinks that Venizelos saved Salonika, which would otherwise have become Serbian, by starting the 'National Defence' movement, which the author joined in 1916, but that that statesman, not a good judge of character, has been injured by his friends. Strongly Francophil, he criticises the Allies' apathy towards German propaganda, but praises the exemplary conduct of the British soldiers, who were not propagandists like the Italians. The indifference of the people at Constantine's first deposition was repeated at the second and at that of George II. The qualities of the Greek soldier are emphasised, but the critic has no use for the Bulgarians. His judgments are fairly impartial otherwise, and at times he spoke the plain truth to Royalty. Considering the important part played by the army in Greek affairs since the Military League of 1909, his book is a valuable source. Its lesson is that of Greek history in all ages—that brilliant achievements are marred by incapacity for team work, and that no too prominent Greek can escape ostracism, of which the modern equivalent is exile to Cannes or baths at a foreign Spa.

W. M.







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# TWENTIETH LIST OF ACCESSIONS TO THE CATALOGUE OF SLIDES

## TOPOGRAPHY, EXCAVATION, ETC.

### Eastern.

- C5695 **Persepolis**, Apadana stairway; chariot group.  
 C5696 " " " " Ciliadians with rams.  
 C5802 **Aspendus**, stage buildings restored (after Niemann).  
 C4980 **Constantinople**, the serpent column with inscription (drawing).

### Crete and Islands.

- C5808 **Cnossos**, ground plan of domestic quarters.  
 C5810 **Delos**, restored plan of temenos of Apollo.

### Greece.

- C5814 **Delphi**, Athenian Treasury, view towards the Phaidriades.  
 7675 **Salonika**, S. Demetri. N. aisle from nave (taken before the fire).  
 C5753 **Athens** from W. (drawing by Cockerell).  
 C5824 " " Asclepion; restored plan of E. area.  
 C5821 " " Parthenon: plan of older and later temples (*A.J.A.* 1912, pl. 9).  
 C5822 " " " " section of south stytobate looking East (*A.J.A.* 1912, pl. 8).  
 C5830 **Eleusis**, Telesterion, ground-plan.  
 C5831 **Epidauros**, plan of the Hieron.

### Rome.

- B4043 **Argentina** site, plan of the temples.  
 B4436 " " Temple A.  
 B4044 " " Temple B (circular temple) from S.W.  
 B4045 **Mausoleum of Augustus**, ground plan (*Arch. Anc.* 43, col. 151).  
 B6020 **Monte Testaccio**, from S.E.  
 B4402 **Pantheon**: interior, after Piranesi.  
 B4003 **Trajan's Forum and Market** from S.W.  
 B4007 **Trajan's Market**, plan (*Dedalo*, x, p. 530).  
 B4008 " " boundary wall and left part of hemicycle.  
 B4017 " " western half of hemicycle (*Dedalo*, x, p. 533).  
 B4026 " " stairway to the Hall (*Dedalo*, x, p. 540).  
 B4027 " " present entrance to the Hall.  
 B4031 " " interior of the Hall, after restoration (*Dedalo*, x, p. 541).

### Italy.

- B4054 **Heronianum**, exterior of Samnite house.  
 B4409 **Ostia**, House of Diana, restoration by Gismondi.  
 B4210 **Pompeii**, looking towards Vesuvius.  
 B4211 " " triumphal arch on W. of temple of Apollo.  
 B4213 " " Stabian Baths; N.E. corner of palaestra.  
 B4214 " " Street of Abundance (Reg. iii, Ins. ii).  
 B4215 " " " " looking E.  
 B4212 " " House of Diomedes, second peristyle.  
 B4216 " " House of Lucretius Fronto, exterior, showing poster.  
 B4413 **Scilla**, after E. Lear.  
 B4414 **Spoleto**, source of the Clitumnus.  
 B4415 **Verona**, after E. Lear.

### Sicily.

- C5949 **Agrigentum**, plan.  
 C5950 **Messina**, street view (taken before the earthquake).  
 C5951 **Palermo**, the cathedral, S. side.  
 C5954 **Soluntum**, view along the Coast.  
 C5952 **Syracuse**, wall of Dionysium.  
 C5953 " " church of S. Giovanni, S. door.







## BRONZES.

- C5593 Bronze dove from Perachora; 7th cent.  
 C5592 Geometric bronze horse from Perachora.  
 C5894 Bronze torso, 5th cent. Florence, Mus. Arch.  
 B4059 'Claudius,' bronze head from River Alde, Suffolk; profile (*JRS* xvi, pl. 2).  
 B4457 'Tiberius,' bronze head from Minerva (*JRS* xxiii, pl. 6).

## VASES

*Greece and Orientalizing.*

- C5783 Dipylon Vase with prothesis scenes.  
 C5784 Detail of a Boeotian vase. Πέρυς Εργασίη. (Cl. Collignon and Couve, *Cat. de Vases de Mus. Nat. d' Ath.*, pl. xix, No. 462.)  
 C5697 Droop-cup in Munich; battle scene (*JHS* iii, pl. iv).  
 C5557 Amphiaraios, and Funeral Games of Pelias. Corinthian krater in Berlin (F.R. No. 121).

*R.E. Vases.*

- C5565 Helios rising. B.M. (F.R. No. 126).  
 C5964 Medea takes vengeance on Jason. Apulian amphora in Munich (F.R. No. 90).

*Trojan Cycle.*

- C5553 Judgment of Paris. Early S. Italian vase in Paris (F.R. No. 147).  
 C5699 Hector arming. Amphora by Euthymides in Munich (Pfehl, *Masterpieces*, fig. 38).  
 C5761 Redemption of Hector. Rf. cylix in Munich (F.R. No. 83).  
 C5562 Illupersis. Rf. hydria in Naples (F.R. No. 34).  
 C5963 Odysseus and the Sirens, and three Erotes. B.M. (F.R. No. 124).  
 B4455 Castor ware cup and lid; lion hunt.

## PAINTING AND MOSAIC

- B4436 Pompeian fresco: Orpheus.  
 B4435 " " Poseidon and Apollo watch the building of the walls of Troy (Herrmann, *Denk.*, 193).  
 B4440 Pompeian fresco: Satyrus with zyrus (Herrmann, *Denk.*, i, p. 117, fig. 30).  
 B4434 " " Theseus and the Minotaur (Herrmann, *Denk.*, 143).  
 B4441 " " portrait of poetess (Rizzo, *La Pittura*, 193).  
 B4437 Peirithoos, Eurytion and Hippodameia. Painting on marble, Herculaneum (Rizzo, *La Pittura*, 87).  
 C5698 Constantinople, S. Sophia, narthex mosaics; Christ enthroned.  
 B4362 Ostia, mosaic of the Corporations (*Not. d. Sc.* 1911, p. 179).  
 C5795 Salonika, S. Sophia; mosaic of S. Panteleemon.  
 C5762 Theotokou mosaic pavements (*BSA* xiii, pl. 11).  
 C5763 " " " details.

## MINOR ARTS

- C5918 Spartan ivory fibulae (*BSA* xii, p. 78).  
 C5919 " " bones devouring calf (*ib.* p. 89).  
 C5694 Ivory sphinx from Perachora; early 7th cent.  
 C5960 Terracotta statuette of Aphrodite from Larnaca. B.M.  
 C5761 Textile with pattern of ducks from the 'Seven Brothers' Tumulus (Kuban, Gulf of Kerch). 4th cent. a.c. Hermitage Mus.  
 B4031 Bronze mooring-rings from Caligula's galley, Nemi.  
 B4467 Bronze plaques with repoussé decoration from Lydney (*Lydney Report*, pl. 28).

## INSCRIPTIONS

- B4048 Signature of Apollonius on aseris of Bronze Boxer in Terme Mus. (*Arch. Anz.* 43, col. 103).

*Roman Imperial Inscriptions.*

- B 941 Acta Triumphorum capitolina xxxvi. 45-54 a.c. Mus. Conservatori (*CIL*. I (1), p. 70).  
 B 942 Inscription recording the association of Minucius with Fabius Cunctator. Mus. Cap. (*CIL*. VI, 204, p. 54).  
 B4046 Inscription of Marcellus and Octavia from Mausoleum of Augustus (*Arch. Anz.* 43, col. 143).



- B 943 Cusms honorum [of Licinius Sura], Temp. Darian Wars. Mus. Cap. (*CIL.* VI (1), 1441).
- B 944 Marble cippus of M. Valerius, a scriba quaestorius. Mus. Terme (*CIL.* VI (1), 2165).
- B 945 Tablets from the columbarium of the household of Livia. Mus. Cap. (*CIL.* VI, (2)).
- B 946 Bronze Tablet: part of the *lex de imperio Vespasiani*: used by Rienzi to explain his laws to the populace (*CIL.* VI (1), 930).
- B 947 Cippus: praetorian edict marking limit where rubbish might be shot on Esquiline (*CIL.* VI (4), li. 31615).
- B 948 Fragments of consular lists 45-40 and 23-12 B.C. The name of Marcus Antonius, erased after Actium, has been reinscribed, probably by Augustus (*CIL.* I (2), p. 64).
- B 949 Epitaph on a wealthy farmer, M. Antonius, formerly of Misenum (*CIL.* VI (4), li. 33887).
- B 950 Inscription commemorating the rebuilding of the Pons Aemilius by Valentinian I (*CIL.* VI (4), li. 31402).
- B953 Inscribed tile [jeering at a work-shy labourer, Astarta]. Guildhall Mus.

#### MISCELLANEA

- C5920 Greek dress (Baldwin-Brown, pl. 2).
- C5926 The discovery of the Bronze Boxer, now in the Terme Museum (drawing).
- C5933 Detail of Byzantine capital from Nea Anchialos.
- C5955 Sicilian painted cart.

#### Greek Pilgrim Pictures, etc.

- C5977 Jerusalem: engraving from the 18th cent. *Pilgrim's Guide*.
- C5978 Church of the Holy Sepulchre. *id.*
- C5979 " " façade. *id.*
- C5980 Monastery of St. Savvas, near Jerusalem. *id.*
- C5981 'Pilgrim Picture' of Jerusalem and other sites in the Holy Land. Brought home by a pilgrim: dated 1790.
- C5982 *id.* 19th cent.



## SETS OF SLIDES.

THE main collection of some 10,000 lantern slides can be drawn on in any quantity, large or small, for lecturing on practically any branch of classical archaeology. For those who have opportunity, no method is so satisfactory as to come in person to the Library, and choose the slides from the pictures there arranged in a subject order.

But the following sets of slides, complete with texts, will be found useful to those lecturers who have not facilities for choosing their own slides. The idea of these sets originated with the late Mr. G. H. Hallam. The thanks of the Society are also accorded those who have been at the pains of undertaking the not easy task of telling a plain tale on the subjects with which they are most familiar to a general audience.

Suitable handbooks dealing with the different subjects can also be lent from the library to lecturers in advance of their lectures.

### LIST OF SETS

**The Prehellenic Age** (classified list of slides only).

**Early Malta** (N. S. Clogston).

**The Geography of Greece** (A. J. Toynbee).

**Ancient Athens: historical sketch** (S. Casson).

**Ancient Athens: topographical** (annotated list of slides only, D. Brooke).

**The Acropolis** (A. H. Smith).

**Ancient Architecture** (D. S. Robertson).

**Greek Sculpture** (J. Penoyre).

**The Parthenon** (A. H. Smith).

**Greek Vases** (M. A. B. Braundholtz).

**Greek Painting** (T. B. L. Webster. This has been so arranged that it can be given either as two lectures or, by the omission of all slides bearing even numbers, as one).

**A Survey of early Greek Coins: 7 slides** showing 49 coins (P. Gardner).

**Some Coins of Sicily** (G. F. Hill).

**Greek Papyri** (H. I. Bell).

**Olympia and Greek Athletics** (E. N. Gardiner).

**Xenophon: the expedition of Cyrus and Xenophon's Anabasis** (annotated list of slides only, by A. W. and B. I. Lawrence).

**Alexander the Great** (D. G. Hogarth).

**The Travels of St. Paul** (no text).

**The Ancient Theatre** (J. T. Sheppard).

**Ancient Life, Greek** (annotated list of slides only).

**Some Ancient Handicrafts:** (annotated list of slides, A. W. Lawrence and W. T. Purdon).

**Greek Scenery** (classified list of slides only).

**The Greek Church** (classified list of slides only).

**Modern Greek Country Life** (classified list of slides only).

**Life in the Roman World** (H. H. Symonds).

**Ancient Life, Roman** (annotated list of slides only).

**Rome** (H. M. Last).

**The Roman Forum** (G. H. Hallam).

**The Roman Forum, for advanced students** (T. Ashby).

**The Palatine and Capitol** (T. Ashby).

**Trajan's Market-Buildings** (A. H. Smith).

**The Via Appia** (R. Gardner).

**The Roman Campagna** (T. Ashby).

**Roman Portraiture** (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong).

**Horace** (G. H. Hallam).

**Virgil** (H. R. Fairclough).

**Pompeii** (A. van Buren).

**Ostia** (T. Ashby).

**Ostia** (R. Meiggs).

**Sicily** (H. E. Butler).

**The Roman Rhone** (S. E. Winbolt).

**Timagad** (H. E. Butler).

**Roman Britain** (Mortimer Wheeler).

**The Roman Wall** (R. G. Collingwood).

**The Roman Soldier** (H. H. Symonds).

**The Religion of Roman Britain** (Miss N. C. Jolliffe).

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**The Byzantine Civilisation: unillustrated**  
(J. B. Bury).

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The sets consist of about 50 carefully selected slides, and the cost of hire, including the text and postage to members, is 7s. 6d.  
Application should be made to

The Assistant Librarian,  
Hellenic Society,  
50, Bedford Square, W.C. 1.

















INTERIOR OF ALABASTER BOWL IN GENEVA.









EXTERIOR OF ALABASTER BOWL IN GENEVA.









DETAILS OF THE ALABASTER BOWL.









DECREE OF THE POSEIDONIASTS OF BERYTUS, IN CAIRNESS HOUSE









1.



2.



3.

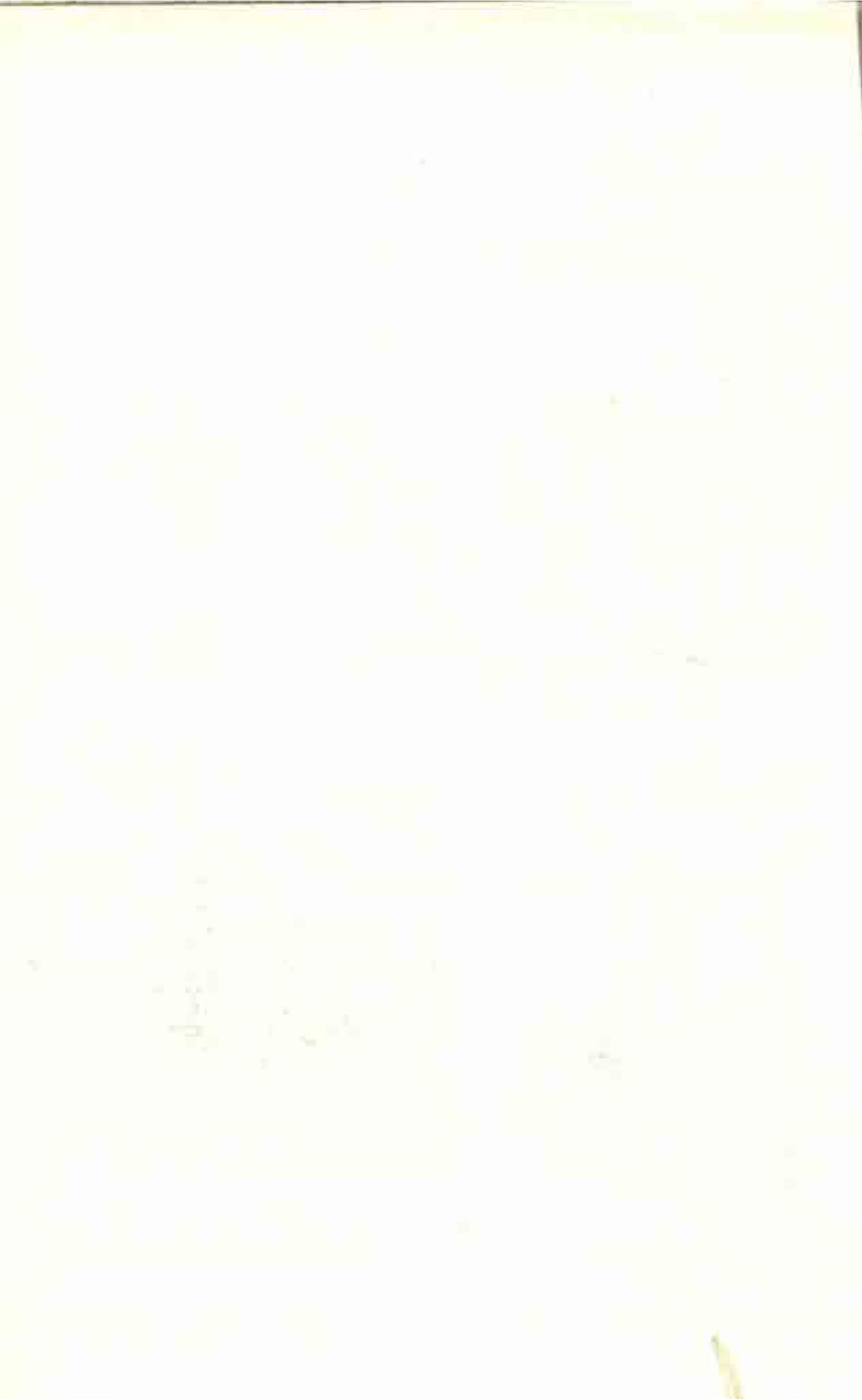


4.

BRONZE HERAKLES IN THE BENAKI MUSEUM, ATHENS.

(SCALE 1/3)









KRATER AT TARANTO.









THE BIRTH OF DIONYSOS: FROM A KRATER AT TARANTO









EARLY ATTIC VASES FROM THE KERAMEIKOS, ATHENS.







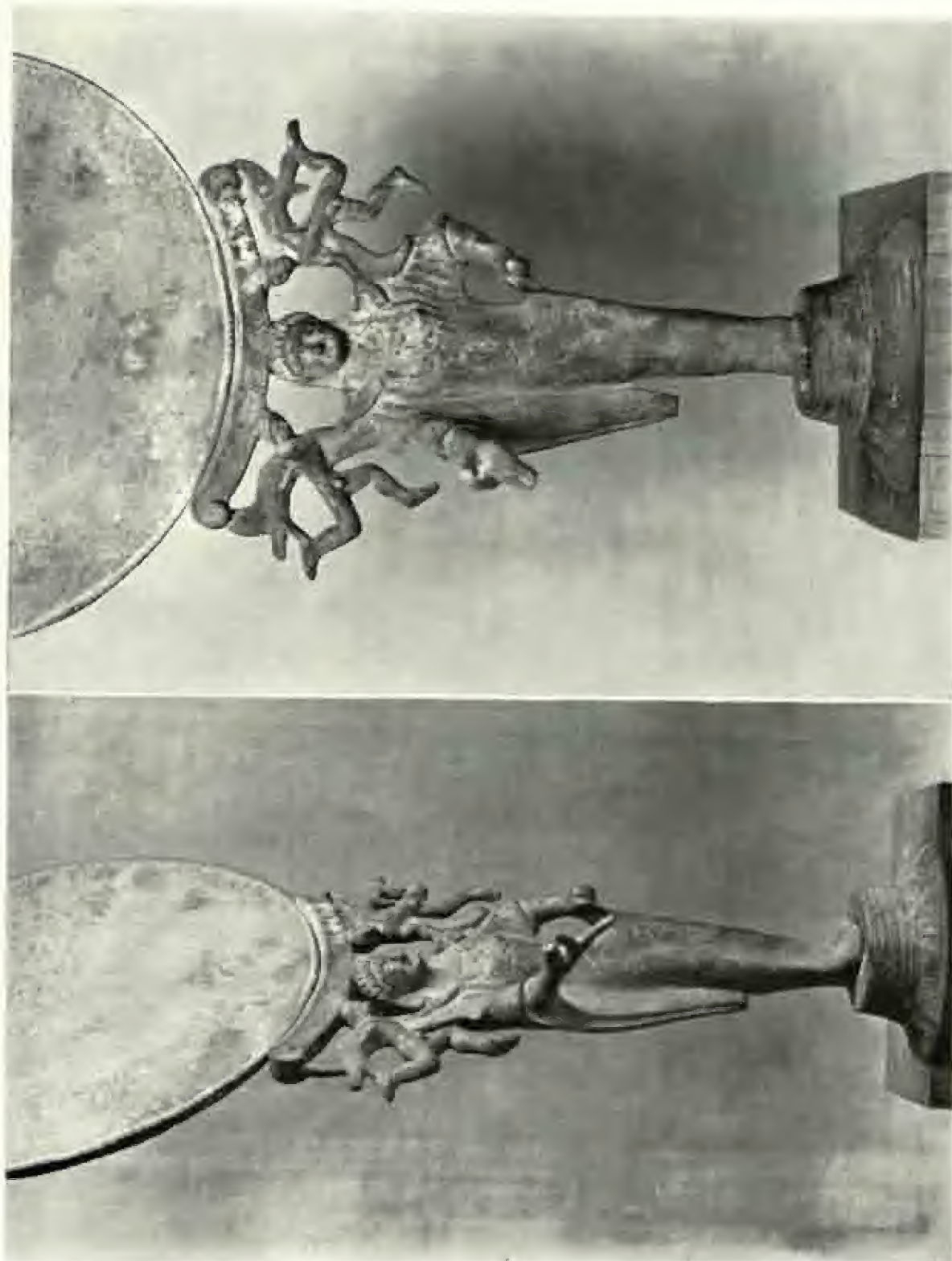


ODYSSEUS AND ELPENOR; FROM A PELIKE IN BOSTON.









BRONZE MIRROR IN MANCHESTER.



(523) 62







N.C.

82



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